SOME

LETTERS,

Containing

An Acccount of what seemed most Remarkable *in Travelling* through

SWITZERLAND, ITALY,

Some parts of GERMANY, &c.
In the Years 1685. and 1686.

Written by G. Burnet, D. D. *to the Honble* R. B.

The Second Edition, Corrected, *and* Altered *in some places by the* Author.

To which is added, an *Appendix*, containing some *Remarks* on *Switzerland* and *Italy*, writ by a *Person* of *Quality*, and communicated to the *Author*.

Together with a Table *of the* Contents *of each* Letter.

ROTTERDAM,
Printed for ABRAHAM ACHER, Bookseller by the Exchange, 1687.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

A TABLE
Of the Contents of all the LETTERS.

The First LETTER.

From *Zurich.*

THE Desolation that is to be seen all the way from *Paris* to *Lions*, occasion'd by the oppression, which the People lye under, *p.* 2. A short Account of some of the *Rarities*, and *Inscriptions* at *Lions*. The *Authors* opinion concerning an unusual and obscure *Inscription*, *p.* 2. *to* 4. A passage in *Vegetius de Re Militari*, misprinted in all the publick Editions, corrected from a *Manuscript* at *Grenoble*, *p.* 4. Of *Geneva*. Their Chamber of the Corn. The moderation of the Government in the price they sell it at, compared with the exorbitant Rates imposed by the *Pope* in all his Territories upon Grain, the buying and vending whereof he *monopolizeth* to himself, *p.* 6, 7. How the profit arising from Corn, with the other Revenues of the *State*, are applyed to the benefit of the Publick, and not to the Enriching particular men, *ibid.* The Learning and Knowledge of the Citizens, beyond what is found commonly elsewhere. Their publick Iustice, personal Vertue and Sobriety, and Severity to open lewdness. Their way of selling Estates; and the Security of Titles there, above what is in other places. The Constitution of their *Government*, with the Method of Electing Members into their several *Councils*, and of Chusing their *Sindics*, and by whom, *p.* 9, 10. A Description of *Lausanne*, with some account of the *Lake*, that lyes

lyes between it and *Geneva*, *p.* 11. The perpendicular height of the *Hill Maudit*, *p.* 12. Of the *Canton* of *Bern*; Its Extent, Government, and Manner of Electing Persons into the several Degrees of Magistracy, with the Advantages accruing to those chosen into *Bailiages*. The Wealth of their peasants how attained. The Temper and Constitution of the People in general. The application of their Women to domestick Affairs, and Disposition of their Men for War, *p.* 13. *to* 19. Their *Military Lists*, and what number they can bring into the Field, Arm'd and Disciplined, upon a sudden Emergency, and general Summons. The oversight of the Government, in suffering the *French* to possess themselves of the *Franche Compté*, after they were Masters of *Alsace*; and how they were partly brib'd into it, and partly wheedled, *p.* 20, 21. Of the War between the *Canton* of *Bern*, and the *Canton* of *Schwits* 1656. being occasioned by a Law made by the *Popish Cantons*, rendring it capital to any to change their Religion, & making their goods confiscable, *p.* 24, 25, 26. A Description of the Town of *Bern*. The *Great Church*. The *Dominicans Chappel*, with the famous *Hole* that went to an Image in the Church, from one of the Cells of the *Dominicans*; *p.* 27, 28. The Difference betwixt the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, about the *maculate* or *immaculate* Conception of the *Virgin*. The Story of *Jetzer*, with a large account of the horrid Cheat and imposture of the *Dominicans*, for which several of them were executed at *Bern* 1509, *p.* 29. *to* 40. That *Switzerland* is better peopled than *France* or *Italy*, tho Countries incomparably more rich, and better scituated. Which proceeds from the Gentleness of the Government in the First, and intolerable and oppressive Severity of it in the two latter, *p.* 40, 41. Of *Soloturn* and *Friburg*, two of the chiefest *Popish Cantons*; The strange Bigottry of the people there, and their gross and sottish Idolatry and Superstition. How the *Jesuites* multiply in those Places, and from the number of *ten*, to which they

were

were limited at *Solothurn*, and one thousand *Livres* a year allowed for their Maintenance, they are not only grown numerous, but become so rich, that they are raising a Colledg and Church, which will cost 400000 *Livres*, *p.* 42, 43. Of the Wealth of some other Religious Houses in *Solothurn*, and of the Fortification they are raising about the Town, *p.* 43, 44. Of the Government of that *Canton*, and of the ill Administration of Justice there, beyond what is in the Protestant *Cantons*, *ibid.* Of *Baden*, which tho the Seat of the general *Diet* of the *Cantons*, yet is not one of them, but a *Baillage* belonging to eight of the ancient *Cantons*, *ibid.* Of the *Canton* of *Zurich*. Its Wealth. The number of disciplined Men, which it can bring into the Field, upon 24. hours warning. The Nature of its Magistracy, and the Regulation of their allowances. Their Trade by means of a large *Lake*. Their Manufactory of *Crape*, and its goodness, *p.* 45. The scituation of the Town of *Zurich*. The Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, and their Freedom from Luxury and Vanity. The Magistracy of the City. The division of the whole *Canton*. Its honour, in not being debauched by French Money, to alter the ancient Capitulations with that Crown. Their Justice and Vertue in applying the ancient Revenues of the Church to pious uses. Their prudence in keeping the Edifices of their Hospitals mean, and expending their Charity upon maintaining the poor that are in them, *p.* 46, 47. Of the *Salary* of their *Ecclesiasticks*, and the great Labour they are obliged unto, *p.* 47. Several Letters written by the most Eminent of the *English* Reformers to *Bullinger*, preserved among the *Archives* of the Dean and Chapter; in which they lament the retaining the *Popish Vestments*, and the aversion they found in the *Parliament*, to all the Propositions that were made for the *Reformation* of Abuses. And *Jewel* having declared in one, how the *Queen* refused to be called *Head of the Church*, adds, that it could not be

aſcribed to any Mortal, being only due to Chriſt, *p.* 48. *to* 51. Of the diſagreement of ancient *Manuſcripts* concerning that paſſage of *St. Iohns Epiſtle, There are three that bear Witneſs in Heaven*, &c. To which are ſubjoyned many things worthy of obſervation, *p.* 51. *to* 54. A new Regulation at *Bern*, for the better Electing perſons into *Bailiages*, *p.* 54. The generous protection and unexemplified Charity, which the *Proteſtant Cantons* have expreſſed to the *French Refugies*, *p.* 55, 56. A Reflexion of the Author on the Cenſure paſt by the Divines in *Switzerland*, againſt the Opinions of *Amirald*, concerning the Divine Decrees, and the Extent of the Death of *Chriſt*, *&c. p.* 56. *to* 58. Of a Tax under which the *Switzers* lye when Eſtates are ſold, and how it ſerves to prevent ill Husbandry, *p.* 58. A further account of thoſe *Cantons*, where both the Reformed and Popish Religion are tolerated; and how from the diminution of the Papiſts in *Glaris*, ſome endeavoured to raiſe a War betwixt the Proteſtant and Popish *Cantons*; and in the *interim*, while things ſeem'd to tend to a rupture, how the *French* begun their Fortification at *Hunningen*.

The Second LETTER.

From Milan.

OF the Bridge upon the Lake at *Ripperſwood*, *p.* 61. Of *Coire*, the chief Town of the *Griſons*. Of the Chappel pretended to be *St. Lucius's*, and what the Author ſaid to the *Biſhop* of *Coire*, to convince that all related of King *Lucius* in that Matter, and of his writing to *Pope Eleutherius*, was a Fable. Of a difference between the *Biſhop* and his *Chapter* about Exemptions, and the Authors opinion in reference to that pretended Priviledge, *p.* 62, 63, 64. The temper of the preſent *Biſhop*. The yearly Revenue belonging to him, and to the ſeveral *Prebendaries*. The Nature of

of the Countrey, with the Wealth of the People, and how it ariſeth. The Conſtitution of the Government. The Diviſion of the Countrey into *Leagues*. Whence, and upon what occaſion it came to be inhabited. Of whom the General *Diet* conſiſts, and of a late conteſt among themſelves, and with the Emperor, *p.* 65, 66, 67. How they shook off the *Auſtrian* Juriſdiction, and their zeal and Courage in vindicating and defending their Liberty, *p.* 68, 69. The Diſtribution of the ſeveral *Leagues* into ſo many *Communities*; and in which *Communities* the Popish Religion is received, and in which the Proteſtant. The abſolute Authority that each hath within it ſelf, *p.* 69, 70. The manner of keeping their *Diets*, and the Cuſtoms therein obſerved, *p.* 72. Of the *Valteline*, *Chavennes*, and *Bormio*, Territories which the three *Leagues* poſſeſs in *Italy*; and how they obtained them: With an account of the Fertility of the Soil in the *Valteline*, *p.* 73. Of the Eaſe and Liberty that thoſe *Diſtricts* enjoy under the *Leagues*; and of a Conſtitution among them, by which the *Peaſants* may demand a *Chamber of Iuſtice*, when they judge themſelves oppreſſed, or aggrieved, *p.* 74, 75. Of the *Maſſacre* in the *Valteline anno* 16 8. and the War that enſued upon it; with the iſſue of it, through the Wiſdom and Conduct of the *Duke* of *Rohan*, *p.* 76. *to* 81. Of the Laws by which they are governed; with ſome of the *Civil* and *Religious* Cuſtoms that prevail among them, *p.* 82, 83, 84. A remarkable Story of about 2000. that fled anno 1685. out of a Valley of *Tirol*, for fear of being deſtroyed upon the Score of their *Religion*, and who ſeem by the Articles of their Faith, and the ſimplicity of their Worship, to be a remnant of the old *Waldenſes*, *p* 85, 86. Of the way from *Coire* to *Chavennes*, with an account of the moſt obſervable Villages upon the Road, *p.* 87, 88. Of *Chavennes*; Its ſcituation. The fertility of the Soil. Eaſineſs of the Government, Plentifulneſs as to all ſort of Proviſions, with an account of the Nature of their

Wine; and the manner how they both make and preſerve it, *p.* 88. *to* 92. A Kind of Stone here, and in the *Valteline*, which they uſe inſtead of Mettle for making pots, *p.* 93. The deplorable Fate of the Town *Pleurs*, which was buried, together with its Inhabitants, by the fall of a Mountain, *anno* 1618. *p.* 94, 95. Of the *Lakes* of *Chavennes* and *Como*, *p.* 97. Of *Codelago* and *Lugane*, with other ſmall Provinces here belonging to the *Switzers*; where as the people live at eaſe, ſo the Countrey, tho extreamly barren, is abundantly peopled, *p.* 98. Of *Lago Maggiore*, and of the *Borromean Iſlands*, which as to lovelineſs and fertility nothing equals, *p.* 99, 100. Of *Lombardy*. Its Extent, pleaſantneſs, goodneſs of Soil. The Inhabitants inconceivably poor, by reaſon of the ſeverity of the Government, *p.* 101, 102. The *Lake* cut by *Francis* the *Firſt* from the River *Teſine* to *Millan*, *ibid.* Of the City *Millan*. The Dimenſions of the *Dutchy*. Its Wealth. The Extent of the Town. The Nobleneſs of the Structures. The Grandure and Beauty of the *Dome*, where the Body of *S. Carlo Borromeo* lies. A ſhort Character of that Prelate, and what marks of his Wealth and Beneficence are to be ſeen in the Town, *p.* 103, 104, 105. Of other *Churches* and *Convents*. The *Hoſpital*, with the *Lazaretto* adjoyning to it, *p.* 106, 107. Of the *Ambroſian Office* uſed here, and its diſtinction from the *Roman*, *ibid.* and *p.* 108. A remarkable paſſage in the *Books* of the *Sacraments* aſcribed to S. *Ambroſe*, where the *Hoſty* is ſaid to be *the Figure of the Body and Blood of Chriſt*, *p.* 109, 110. Of Ancient *Offices*, and why none to be ſeen in the *Vatican*. A *Manuſcript* Tranſlation of *Joſephus* by *Ruffinus*, in the *Ambroſian Library*, *p.* 111. No Glaſs Windows in *Millan*, nor yet in *Florence*. The people deplorably poor, while the *Churches* and *Convents* are ſo extravagantly rich. The Decay of their Wealth, occaſioned in part through a faileur in the exportation of their Silks, *p.* 113. An account of a *Gentlewomen* at *Geneva*, who beſides her being greatly accomplished in Languages and Sciences,

Sciences, writes legibly, tho blind since she was a year old, *p.* 114, 115.

The Third LETTER.

From Florence.

THe Frontier Towns of the *Spaniards* and *Venetians* in *Italy*, ill fortified, as appears by *Lodi* the last Garrison belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Millan*, and *Crema*, the first Garrison appertaining to the *Venetians*. Of the Civil and Military Officers, which the *Venetians* send into their several Territories and Provinces. The Cheese that goes by the name of *Parmesan*, is made chiefly at *Lodi*, *p.* 116, 117. Of *Breseia*, where the best Barrils for Pistols and Muskets are made. A famous *Nunnery* rhere fallen into disgrace, occasioned by the *Priests* conversing with the *Nuns* through a private *Vault*, *p.* 117, 118, Of the *Lake* of *Guarda*, and the difference between the *Miles* in *Lombardy* and *Naples*, *ibid.* Of *Verona*. Its poverty. The baseness of the *Coyn*. The Remains of an old *Roman Amphitheatre*. The *Museum Calceolarium* furnished with many Antiquities and Rarities, *p.* 119, 120. The Wine called *Vino Santo*, that grows near the Lake *Guarda*. Of the Colour of the Cattel and Hoggs in *Italy*, *p.* 121. Of *Vincenza*. The riches of the Palaces and Churches. A modern *Theatre*. Count *Valerano's* Gardens. The Courseness of the *Images*, and their gross *Idolatry*, *p.* 122. Of *Padua*. The *University* much decay'd, and by what means. Tue Quarrels among the *Paduan* Nobility, and what Advantages the *Venetians* make of them, *p.* 123. Their Churches, and the Devotion payd to *S. Anthony*, who in one of the little *Vows* that hang without the holy Cappel, is said *to hear those whom God himself doth not hear*, *p.* 124. Why the *Venetians* imploy not their own Subjects in their Wars, *p.* 125, 126. The Palaces from *Padua* to *Venice*, on both

both ſides the River *Brent*, *p.* 126. Of the *Lagunes*, and that they grow dayly more ſhallow. Of the City of *Venice*. The Buildings, Palaces, Churches, Bridges, Arſenal, Convents; Their Beauty and Wealth, with the meanneſs of the Library of *S. Mark*, *p.* 127. *to* 130. Of the ſmall Conſideration they have for Father *Paul*, and of the Memorials out of which he collected his Hiſtory, *p.* 131. The Atteſtations produced by Mr. *Arnaud*, for the agreement of the *Greek Church* with the *Latine*, in the matter of *Tranſubſtantiation*, where penned, and how obtained: With an account of the ignorance and corruption of the *Greek Prieſts*, *p.* 132, 133. A famous *Venetian Lady*, that ſpake *Greek* and *Latine* well, beſides three other Languages, and who commenced Dr. of Phyſick. Of the Ancient *Noble Families* of *Venice*. To whom, and upon what occaſions the honor of being Noble *Venetian* is imparted, *p.* 134, 135. The limited Power of the *Duke*, and that that Dignity is not worth a wiſe Mans Courting. The reaſon of *Sagredo's* being put by from being *Duke*; his retiring thereupon from the City; and the Books he wrote during his retirement, *p.* 138, 139. Why married Men are not now choſen to that honour, and of Titles forbidden, and allowed, *p.* 140. The Authority of the *Senate* over the *Eccleſiaſticks*; and the limited power of their *Bishop*; and that the very *Clergy* have little dependence upon him. Of the Election of their Curat's by the Inhabitants of every Parish, and the Liberty which the *Candidates* take to defame and expoſe one another, *p* 141. Ignorance and Vice the chief Characters of all *Prieſts*, eſpecially at *Venice*. The licence aſſumed by many of their *Nuns*, particularly by thoſe that call themſelves *Noble Venetians*. All *Eccleſiaſticks* precluded from a share in the Government, and in caſe any be promoted to the *Hat*, their Friends and Relations become uncapable (during their lives) both of Imploymenrs, and of ſitting in the *Great Council*, *p.* 142, 143. The *Inquiſition* at *Venice*, through being ſubject to the *Senate*, does little hurt.

Many

Many *Proteſtants* there, whom the *Senate* gives no trouble to. The *Hoſtie* not carried openly in *proceſſion*. The *Venetians* generally unconcerned as well as ignorant in matters of Religion, *p.* 144. Moſt of the young *Nobility* corrupted in their Morals; and wholly decline all Military Imployments: So that their Officers as well as Souldiers are ſtrangers. The reaſon of the degeneracy of the *Italians*, and in particular of the *Venetian Nobility*, *p.* 145, 146. The pleaſures which they purſue, are all bruitish: but the noble and innocent pleaſures of Friendship and Marriage, &c. they underſtand not. Their Houſes ſtately, but not convenient. Neither their Bread, Wine, nor the Cookery of their Flesh good. Their Coaches uneaſy, and the Carriages through all *Lombardy* inconvenient, *p.* 147, 148, 149. Of the *late created Nobility*; the Sum they obtained it for; their number; and the prejudices ariſing hereby both to the *Republick* and the ancient *Nobility*, *p.* 150: to 154. By whom Crimes, committed by any of the *Nobility* againſt the *State*, are judged, and by whom the Offences of other Subjects are tryed, *p.* 155, 156. Of the *Inquiſitors* of *State*. The extent of their Authority. The Quality and Merit of their perſons; and the uſefulneſs of that Tribunal, *p.* 157, to 160. Of Mr. *de la Hay*, French Ambaſſador at *Venice*; His Character, *p.* 161. The Road from *Venice* to *Ferrara*. The Town as well as Countrey of *Ferrara*, forſaken of their Inhabitants through the ravenouſneſs of the *Prieſts*, and the oppreſſiveneſs of the *Government*. However the *Churches* and *Convents* are vaſtly rich, and that from the Vanity of the people, more than from their Superſtition, *p.* 162, 163. Of *Bologna*, which having delivered it ſelf to the *Pope* upon a Capitulation, hath thereby preſerved many of its Priviledges, and ſo continues Wealthy and well peopled, *p.* 164, 165. Its Palaces, Churches and Convents, in one of which (namely that of the *Canons Regular* of St. *Salvator*) there is a *Scrowl* of the *Hebrew Bible*, pretended to be written by *Ezra*'s own hand, but falſely. The *Meridional Line*, which

which *Cassini* laid along the pavement of St. *Petrone's* Church, *p.* 166. Of *Pope Joan's* Statue there, and the Authors unbelief as to such a person's having been *Pope*. Of the Monastery of St. *Michael* on the Hill above *Bologna*, and of a *Madona* of St. *Lukes*, four miles from the Town, *p.* 166, 167, 168. Of the *Appenine* Hills, and of *Pretolino*, one of the *Great Duke's* Palaces, which stands on the last of them; with some account of the *Gardens* in *Italy*, *p.* 169. Of *Florence*. The *Great Dukes Palace*. The *Dome*, with its *Cupolo*, and *Baptistery*. Of the *Chappel* of *St. Laurence*, where the Bodies of the great *Dukes* lye depositted. The Statues in it, particularly that of the *Virgin* by *Mich. Angelo*. The *Library* belonging to it, well replenished with *Manuscripts*, *p.* 171. *Florence* much decayed, and *Siena* and *Pisa* shrunk into nothing; and that more from the severity of the Government, than the Decay of their silk Trade, *p.* 173, *to* 175. A comparison between the Territories of the *Venetians*, *Genoa's*, and *Switzers* in *Italy*, which are well peopled, and the Inhabitants rich; and the Territories of the *Great Duke*, the *Pope*, and the *King of Spain*, where there are few people, those miserably poor. However the Churches are rich, which helpt also to sink their Trade, *p.* 175, 176. The *Inns*, when one hath past the *Appenines*, wretchedly accommodated.

The Fourth LETTER.

From Rome.

THe great desolation that appears in all the *Popes* Territories, through the rigour of the Government. For a Prince to be *Elective*, and yet *Absolute*, a great solecism in Government. The *Pope* the most *Absolute Prince* in *Europe* in *Temporals*, allowing the *Cardinals* no share with him in that, tho he admit them to share with him over the Affairs of the *Church*.

The

The incongruity both of the *one* and the *other*, *p.* 178, to 181. A brief account and Character of the *present*, and the three *preceding Popes*. The ſcandal ariſing to Chriſtian Religion, through the neglect of Juſtice and Mercy by him that ſtiles himſelf Chriſts *Vicar*. A handſome Reflection made to the Author by a *Roman Prince*, upon the folly of Oppreſſions, *p.* 182, 183, 184. The preſent *Vice-Roy* of *Naples* the *Marquis* of *Carpi*, commended for Wiſdom, Moderation and Juſtice. His ſuppreſſing the inſolency of the *Spaniards* over the Natives. His maintaining the Souldiers in Diſcipline, and paying them exactly. His Reforming the Courts of Judicature. His extirpating the *Banditi*, and by what means. The deſign he is upon of bringing the Money to its true value, *p.* 185, *to* 188. The *Ieſuites* being the Proprietors of near the half of *Apulia*, treat their Tenants with that rigour, that the Country is much deſolated, and many die of hunger. The Sloth and Lasineſs of the *Neapolitans*, hinders their making thoſe advantages of the produce of the Countrey which they might. The proviſion here for *Travellers* bad, and the accommodation worſe. Four parts of Five of all the Wealth of the Kingdom of *Naples* in Church mens hands, *p.* 189, *to* 191. Of the Churches and Convents in *Naples*, particularly of the *Hoſpital*, ſtiled the *Annunciata*. The *Ieſuitts* great *Merchants*, eſpecially in *Wine*, wherein the *Minims* alſo deal, but more ſcandalouſly, in ſelling it by retail, *ibid.* and *p.* 192. A priviledge which the *Convents* have as to buying Houſes in the Town. And that the Wealth of the *Clergy* is ſo great, that they are in a fair way of making themſelves Maſters of the Kingdom. The contempt that *Secular* perſons have for them. More Learning at *Naples*, than in all other places of *Italy*. D. *Joſeph Valetta*'s Library, and of the learned Men that aſſemble at his Houſe; of which number there are none of the *Clergy*, ſave one *Rinaldi*. The Imputations which the Church-men caſt upon perſons that have any taſt of learning or good ſenſe. The

Tempta-

Temptation which men of wit are lyable unto, of disbelieving the Christian Religion, from the *Idea* which what they see among *Priests* and people give them of it. The preaching of the *Monks* silly and ridiculous. All the learning among the *Clergy* at *Naples* among a Few *Secular Priests*, *p.* 193, 194. Of *Molino*. His new Method. How much it prevails. Opposed by the *Iesuites*; and why. The *Pope* hath a favorable opinion of him, and yet through the complaint of some *Cardinals*, and the influence of a great King, hath caused throw him into the *Inquisition*. A pleasant saying of *Pasquin*'s thereupon, *p.* 195, 196, 197. Of the City of *Naples*. Its Bigness, Beauty, and Supply as to provisions. Of the *Vice-Roy*'s Palace, with the Pictures and Statues in it, *p.* 198. The *Catacomb*'s. here and at *Rome* described. The use they anciently served for. An account of some *Inscriptions* to be found among those at *Naples*. That they were not the *Repositories* of the Relicks of the ancient Christians: But the common Burying places of the Heathen. This demonstrated, *p.* 199. *to* 206. When Burying began among the Romans, discoursed at large, and cleared by Testimonies out of old *Roman* Authors, *p.* 207., *to* 211. The *Bones* sent from hence, as the Relicks of primitive *Christians* and *Martyr*'s, nothing but the *Bones* of *Heathens*, and for the most part of those of the meanest and most infamous Rank, *p.* 211, 212. Of *Mont Vesuvio*. The Earthquakes occasioned about *Naples*, by the Convulsions of that Hill. The operation which its heat hath, to make the *Soil* about fruitful, and the Air pure, *p.* 213, 214. Of the *Cave* that pierceth the *Pausalippe*, with the Hot *Bath* near unto it, with the *Grots* that send out poysonous steams, *ibid.* Of the *Bay* of *Puzzoli*. The Rarities which occur there, particularly of the *Salfatara*; and of the *Cave*, where the *Sybil* is said to have given out her Inspirations, *p.* 215, 216. Of the *Rests* of *Caligula*'s *Bridge*. The depth of the Water were the *Pillars* were built, that supported the *Arches*. The Extent of the *Bridge*. The whole

whole, a Monument of *Caligula*'s extravagancy and profuſeneſs; as the great *Fiſh pond* and the *Centum Cameræ* hewn out of the Rock, were of *Nero*'s. The *Baths* of *Puzzoli*. The *Via Appia*. The *Iſle* of *Caprea*, *p.* 217. *to* 221. Of *Rome*. The *Via Flamminia* on the *Tuſcan* ſide. Of *St. Peter*'s *Church*, and of the *Palace* adjoyning, with the Defects in that, and in other *Roman* Palaces. Of the *Villa Borgheſe*, and *Villa Pamphilia*, and how the Palaces in *Rome* are furniſhed, *p.* 221, *to* 226. Of the *Vatican Library*, and what the Author obſerved in the *Manuſcripts* relating to the *Council* of *Conſtance*; and of the difference between Mr. *Schelſtrat* and Mr. *Maimbourg*, concerning that *Council*; with the Authors opinion as to that difference, *p.* 226. *to* 230. Of the learned Men at *Rome*, ſuch as *Bellori*, *Fabri*, and *Nazari*; with a Character of Cardinal *d'Eſtré*, and Cardinal *Howard*; and what ſmall account the preſent *Pope* makes of learned Men, *p.* 231, 232. The contempt that the *Romans* have for the preſent *Pontificate*, with an impartial Character of the *Pope* himſelf, *ibid.* and *p.* 233. A Nation may not only be diſpeopled, by driving people out of it, but by weakning the natural Fertility of the Subjects. Two Stories of the Fruitfulneſs of perſons at *Geneva*, whereas a ſtrange Barrenneſs reigns over all *Italy*, *p.* 234. Of the *Fountains* and *Aquaducts* at *Rome*. Of the Civility of the People, and that their Converſation is generally upon News. A Character of the *Queen* of *Sweden*, with a ſaying ſhe had to the Author of her ſelf. The jealouſy that the *Romans* have of their *Wives*, and why: with an account of the vertuous deportment of the *Dutcheſs* of *Bracciano* amidſt all the innocent Freedoms of Converſation, *p.* 235. *to* 238. Of the *Capitol*, the *Tarpeian Rock*, *Severus*'s *Triumphal Arch*, and other ancient Rarities and Monuments, *ibid.* and *p.* 239. Of the *Churches*, and in particular of the *Rotunda*, *St. Mary Maggiore*, and *St. John* in the *Lateran*. Of the many ancient *Monuments*, *Pillars*, *Statues*, &c. at *Rome*;

p. 240, 241. Of the *Modern Palaces*, and the *Statues*, *Paintings*, *Heads* in the *Farnesian Palace*. Of the *Minerva*, where the *Inquisition* ſitteth; and of the little hazard perſons are in at *Rome*, whatſoever their Religion be, if they conduct themſelves with any Diſcretion. *Oldcorn*'s *Picture* (who was convicted of the *Gunpowder* Treaſon) among the *Martyrs* in the Gallery of the *Engliſh Ieſuites*. Of the Authors ſeeing the *Emblematical* Prophecies relating to *England*, which thoſe *Ieſuites* have. Of *St. Gregory*'s *Chappel*, and the Worship payd to his *Statue*, *p.* 243, 244, 245. A Character of the young Prince *Borgheſe*, *ibid.* A ſtrange alteration of *Sex* in two *Nuns*. A young *Gentlewoman* at *Geneva*, that contracted a *Deafneſs* from a Viciouſneſs in the Nurſes Milk; and who, tho being *deaf*, underſtands what is ſpoken to her, by obſerving the motion of their Mouthes that ſpeak, *p.* 246, 247, 248. How all the World miſtruſts the *Ieſuites*, and yet truſts them. A pleaſant Story of a *Catholick* Gentleman's chuſing the moſt ignorant *Prieſt* he could find for his *Confeſſor*, and why, *p.* 249, 250.

The Fifth LETTER.

From Nimmegen.

OF *Marſeilles*. The Conveniency of the *Harbour*. The Wealth of the Town, through the Freedoms that it enjoyes, *p.* 253, 254. Of the preſent *Perſecution* in *France*, and how approved and commended by the *Clergy*; Repreſented at *Rome*, by the *Spaniſh* Faction, as a reproach to the *Catholick Religion*; but applauded by the *Pope*, *p.* 255, 256. The fault not ſo much in the *King*, as in his *Religion*; which obligeth him to extirpate *Hereticks*, and not to keep his *Faith* to them. The Forcing poor People by extremities to abjure their Religion,

Religion, a greater cruelty, than if he should put them to Death for it, *p.* 257. The Liberty the Author obtained at *Geneva*, of preaching to a Congregation in *English*, and of administring the *Sacrament* according to the way of the *Church* of *England*, *p.* 258, 259. A Character of *Mr. Turretin*, and *Mr. Tronchin*, two of their Professors, *p.* 260. Some *Monuments*, which the Author saw at *Avanche*. The Chappel near *Morat*, filled with Bones of the *Burgundians*, with an *Inscription*, that *Charles Duke* of *Burgundy*, having besieged *Morat*, *hoc sui Monumentum reliquit*, *p.* 261. Of *Basil*. The Town described. How it comes to be so ill peopled, and in what manner Governed. A remarkable *Piece* of *painting* in the State House. Several Pieces of *Holben's* there, and in other places of the Town. A new sort of *Wind-Guns* made by one in *Basil*. Of the publick *Library*, and how furnished with Books, Manuscripts, Medalls; and of a private *Library* belonging to the Family of *Fesch*. Of the *Councils* of the Town, and of the several *Bailiages* under their Iurisdiction. The proportion of Armed Men they can raise. The number of their Professors, *p.* 262. *to* 268. Of *Hummingen*. The Largeness, Figure and Quality of that *Fortification*, *p.* 269, 270. Of *Brisac*, and the *Fortification* belonging to it, with its Figure, greatness, and strength, *p.* 271. 272. Of *Strasburg*. The Town, with its old and new Fortifications described The Animosity of the *Lutherans* against the *Calvinists*, as well as against the *Papists*. Tho they have Pictures in their Churches, yet they Worship them not, *ibid.* and *p.* 273. By what means the City fell into the hands of the *French*. The Decay it already suffers in Trade, with an account of the Treatment of *Mr. Dietrick* by the *French*, contrary to the Terms of the Capitulation, *p.* 276. Of *Philipsburg*; its Natural Scituation, and Artificial strength, and how recovered from the *French*, *p.* 277. Of *Spire*, which as it is an ill Fortified, so it is a poor Town,

and ſubſiſteth chiefly by the *Imperial Chamber* that ſitteth in it. A late Diſpute between the *Town* and *Chamber* concerning Priviledges. The Government of the *Town* is wholly *Lutheran*, only the *Cathedral* is in the hands of the *Biſhop* and *Chapter*. The meanneſs of the *Tombs* of the *Emperors*, that lye buried there. A *Fable* concerning *St. Bernard*, with ſome marks relating to it, on the pavement of the Church, and an account of ſome *Figures* in the Cloiſter, *p.* 278, 279, 280. Of the Lower *Palatinate*, and of *Heidelberg*. Of the Scituation of the Town. The *Wine-Cellar*, with the Celebrated *Tun* that is in it. The Wiſdom and Conduct of the late Prince *Charles*, in peopling and ſetling this *State*. The nature and proportion of the *Taxes* he laid upon the Subjects, and their contentment under them. The People of *Germany* only bound to their particular *Prince*, tho the *Prince* himſelf be under ſome Ties to the *Emperor*. *Pareus*'s Commentary on the 13. of the *Romans*, vindicated upon this Foundation by *Fabritius*. A Character of *Him*, and *Dr. Mick*, *p.* 281, 282. Of *Manheim*. The care Prince *Charles Lewes* took to fortify it. His granting Liberty, not only to *Chriſtians* of all parties, but alſo to the *Iews*, and thereby peopling his Countrey, which had been ſtrangely deſolated. His Character, *ibid.* and *p.* 283. Of the preſent *Prince*. His Probity, Vertues and Stedfaſtneſs to the promiſes he made his Subjects, with relation to their Religion, *ibid.* and *p.* 284. The Beauty and Fertility of the Country, from *Heidelberg* to *Frankfort*. The latter deſcribed. The three Religions tolerated there. The Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, preſerved among the Archives of that City. Lewd Women condemned here to the *Piſtrina* or hand-mill. The *Iews* permitted to dwell there, and to have *Synagogues*. An account of the Fortification of the *Town*, and its Wealth, *p.* 285, 286. Of *Hockam*, that yields the celebrated Wine. A famous *Picture* over one

of

of the Popish Altars at *Worms*, as the Author was told, but did not ſee either it, or the Town, by reaſon of having taken another road, *p.* 287, 288. Of *Mentz*; Its Scituation, Compaſs, Cittadel, and Fortification of the Town. The *Elector* an abſolute Prince. The *Demeaſne* of the *Electorat*, and what *Taxes* he impoſeth on his Subjects, with the number of Armed men he can bring into the Field. How *He* and his *Chapter* chuſe the *Prebends* by turns, and in whom the right of chuſing the *Elector* reſides, *ibid.* and *p.* 289, 290. Of *Bacharach*, and of the *Tower*, where the *Rats* are ſaid to have eaten up an *Elector*. A *Labourer* at *Geneva* ſtung to death by Waſps, *ibid.* Of *Coblentz*; its Scituation, Strength, and Fort ſtiled *Hermanſtan*, *p.* 291, 292. Of *Bonne*, where the *Elector* of *Collen* reſides. A Character of the preſent *Elector*. A Story about the Forgery of *Medalls*, and to what value there were found of them at the laſt ſiege of *Bonne*. Of ſome Rarities belonging to the *Prince*, *p.* 293, 294. Of *Collen*; tho a City of great extent, yet ill built, and worſe peopled. The *Jews* are allowed here to live; and in what place the *Proteſtants* are permitted the exerciſe of their *Religion*. The Churches and Convents, with an account of the Fable of the *three Kings*, and 11000 *Urſulins*. Of the late *Rebellion* there, and how occaſioned, with the exceſſes that attended it, *p.* 295, 296. Of *Duſſeldorp*. The *Palace*; The *Ieſuites Colledge*; The *Proteſtant Religion* tolerated there, and by whoſe procurement, *p.* 297. Of *Keiſerſwart*, and how fortified. Of *Weſel*; A fair Town, meanly fortified, but populous and rich, *p.* 298. Of *Cleve*, *ibid.* Of *Nimmegen*. A Character of *Sr. William Temple*, whoſe Picture hangs in the *Stadthouſe*, with an ample commendation of his Book of the *Low Countries*, *ibid.* and *p.* 199. A large and juſt Character of the preſent *Prince of Orange*, and of the glorious ſervice he performed, in reſcuing his Country from the *French*, *ibid.* and *p.* 300. 301, 202, 303.

An

An *Appendix*, containing *Remarks* of an *Italian* Gentleman, upon *Switzerland*, the *Grisons* Country, the Bailiage of *Lugane*, the *Lakes*, the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, the Estate of *Bolognia*, the Country of the Great *Duke* of *Tuscany*, the temporal Government of the *Pope*, and the Reduction of the Interest due by the *Monts* at *Rome*, and of the Avarice of the *Iesuits* and *Pritsts* p. 305, &c.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

There is lately Printed another *Book* of this *Author's*, intituled,

Reflections on Monſieur *Varillas's Hiſtory* of the *Revolutions* that have hap'ned in *Europe*, in Matters of *Religion*. And more particularly on his *ninth Book*, that relates to *England*. In 12mo. *Amſterdam*, Printed for *P. Savoret*, in the *Warmoes-ſtreet*, near the *Dam*.

The

The *Printing* of the *First Edition* of this *Book*, falling into the hands of such *Workmen*, as did not understand *English*, and the *Author* living at distance from the Press, there hap'ned so many and great *Faults* in it, as marr'd the sence in divers places; which are all so well *corrected* in *this Edition*, by the Care of an *Englishman*, that it may be truly said to be as well printed, as any *English Book* done in *England*.

SOME

SOME

LETTERS,

Containing,

An Account of what ſeemed moſt remarkable in *Switzerland, Italy, &c.*

Zurich, the firſt of *September*, 1685.

SIR,

IT is ſo common to write *Travels*, that for one, who has ſeen ſo little, and as it were in haſte, it may look like a preſumptuous affectation to be reckoned among *Voyagers*, if he attempts to ſay any thing upon ſo ſhort a ramble, and concerning *Places* ſo much viſited, and by conſequence ſo well known: yet having had opportunities that do not offer themſelves to all that *travel*, and having joyned to thoſe; a curioſity almoſt equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful entertainment if I give you ſome account of thoſe things that pleaſed me moſt in the places through which I have paſſed: But I will avoid ſaying ſuch things as occur in ordinary *Books*, for which I refer you to the *Prints*; for as you know, that I have no great inclination to copy what others have ſaid; ſo a *traveller* has not

leiſure, nor humour enough, for ſo dull an employment.

As I came all the way from *Paris* to *Lions*, I was amaſed to ſee ſo much miſery as appeared, not only in *Villages*, but even in big *Towns*, where all the marks of an extream *poverty* ſhowed themſelves both in the *Buildings*, the *Cloaths*, and almoſt in the looks of the *Inhabitants*. And a general diſpeopling in all the *Towns*, was a very viſible effect of the hardſhips under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular and yet magnificent ſituation of *Lions*, of the noble *Rivers* that meet there, of the *Rock* cut from ſo vaſt a height for a priſon, of the *Carthuſians* Gardens, of the *Town-houſe*, of the *Jeſuites* Colledge, and *Library*, of the famous *Nunnery of S. Peter*, of the *Churches*, particularly *S. Irenees*, of the remnants of the *Aqueducts*, of the *Columns* and the old *Moſaick* in the *Abbey Dene*. In ſhort, *Mr. Spon* has given ſuch an account of the *Curioſities* there, that it were a very preſumptuous attempt to offer to come after him.

The *ſpeech of Claudius* ingraven on a *Plate of Braſs*, and ſet in the end of the low walk in the *Town-houſe*, is one of the nobleſt *Antiquities* in the World, by which we ſee the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiouſly. The *ſhield of Silver* of 22 pound weight, in which ſome remains of gilding do yet appear, and that ſeems to repreſent that generous action of *Scipio's*, of reſtoring a fair captive to a *Celtiberian Prince*, is certainly the nobleſt piece of *Plate* that is now extant, the emboſſing of it is ſo fine, and ſo entire, that it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an inſcription upon it to put us beyond conjecture, it were

were yet much more ineſtimable.

A great many *Inſcriptions* are to be ſeen of the late and Barbarous ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*: there are 23. *Inſcriptions* in the *Garden* of the *Fathers of Mercy*, but ſo placed, as it ſhews how little thoſe who poſſeſs them do either underſtand or value them. I ſhall only give you *one*, becauſe I made a little reflection on it, tho it is not perhaps too well grounded, becauſe none of the *Criticks* have thought on it.

The *Inſcription* is this, *D. M. Et Memoriae AEternae Sutiae Anthidis. Quae vixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quae dum Nimia pia fuit, facta eſt Impia: & Attio Probatiolo, Cecalius Caliſtio Conjux & Pater, & ſibi vivo ponendum curavit & ſub aſcia dedicavit.* This muſt be towards the barbarous *Age*, as appears by the falſe Latin in *Nimia*: But the *Inſcription* ſeems ſo extravagant, that a man dedicating a Burial-ſtone for his *Wife* and *Son*, and uuder which himſelf was to be laid, with ceremonies of *Religion*, ſhould tax his *Wife* of impiety, and give ſo extraordinary an Account of her becoming ſo thro an exceſs of piety, that it deſerves ſome conſideration.

It ſeems the *impiety* was publick, otherwiſe a *Husband* would not have recorded it in ſuch a manner; and it is plain, that he thought it roſe from an exceſs of *piety*.

I need not examine the conjectures of others: but will chuſe rather to give you my own, and ſubmit it to your cenſure.

It ſeems to me that this *Sutia Anthis* was a *Chriſtian*; for the Chriſtians, becauſe they would not worſhip the *Gods* of the *Heathens*, nor participate with them in their ſacred rites, were ac-

cuſed both of *Atheiſm* and *Impiety*. This is ſo often objected, and the *Fathers* in their *Apologies* have anſwered it ſo often, that it were loſt labour to prove it: ſo this Wife of *Cecalius Caliſtio* having turned *Chriſtian*, it ſeems he thought he was bound to take ſome notice of it in the inſcription: But by it he gives a honourable character of the *Chriſtian Doctrine* at the ſame time that he ſeems to accuſe it; that through an exceſs of piety, his *Wife* was carried to it: ſince a mind, ſeriouſly poſſeſſed with a true ſenſe of piety, could not avoid the falling under a diſtaſte of *Paganiſm*, and the becoming *Chriſtian*.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be ſeen, the learned *Mr. Chorier* has ſome *Manuſcripts* of conſiderable antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de re Militari*, there is a clear correction of a paſſage that in all the printed Editions is not ſenſe. In the Chapter of the ſiſe of the Souldiers he begins, *Scio ſemper menſuram a Mario Conſule exactam*: *A* is in no *MS.* and *Mario Conſule* is a miſtake for *trium Cubitorum*; for III. which are for *trium*, have been read *M.* and *C.* which ſtands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a miſtake read *Conſule*; ſo the true reading of that paſſage is: *Scio menſuram trium Cubitorum fuiſſe ſemper exactam.* He ſhewed me another *M. S.* of about 5. or 6. hundred *years* old, in which *S. John's Revelation* is contained, all exemplified in *Figures*, and after that comes *Eſops Fables* likewiſe, all deſigned in *Figures*, from which he inferred, that thoſe who deſigned thoſe two Books, valued both equally, and ſo put them together.

I will not deſcribe the *Valley of Dauphine*, all to *Chambery*, nor entertain you with a Land-

Landſkip of the Countrey, which deſerves a better pencil than mine, and in which the heighth and rudeneſs of the *Mountains*, that almoſt ſhut upon it, together with the beauty, the evenneſs and fruitfulneſs of the *Valley*, that is all along well watered with the River of *Liſerre*, make ſuch an agreeable mixture, that this vaſt diverſity of objects, that do at once fill the Eye, gives it a very entertaining proſpect.

Chambery has nothing in it that deſerves a long deſcription, and *Geneva* is too well known to be much inſiſted on. It is a little *State*, but it has ſo many good *Conſtitutions* in it, that the greateſt may juſtly learn at it. The *Chamber of the Corn* has always *two years* proviſion for the *City* in ſtore, and forces none but the *Bakers* to buy of it at a taxed price; and ſo it is both neceſſary for any extremities, under which the *State* may fall, and is likewiſe of great advantage; for it gives a good yearly income, that has helpt the *State* to pay near a *Million* of debt contracted during the *Wars*, and the *Citizens* are not oppreſſed by it, for every *Inhabitant* may buy his own *Corn* as he pleaſes, only publick Houſes muſt buy from the *Chamber*. And if one will compare the *Faith* of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this particular, he will be forced to prefer the latter; for if *good Works* are a ſtrong preſumption, if not a ſure indication of a good Faith, then *Juſtice*, being a good Work of the firſt form, *Geneva* will certainly carry it.

At *Rome* the *Pope* buys in all the *Corn* of the *Patrimony*; for none of the *Landlords* can ſell it either to *Merchants* or *Bakers*. He buyes it at five *Crowns* their meaſure, and even that is ſlowly,

and ill payed, ſo that there was 800000. *Crowns* owing upon that ſcore, when I was at *Rome*. In ſelling this out, the *meaſure* is leſſened a *fifth part*, and the price of the whole is doubled, ſo that what was bought at *five Crowns* is ſold out at *twelve*: and if the *Bakers*, who are obliged to take a determined quantity of *Corn* from the *Chamber*, cannot retail out all that is impoſed upon them, but are forced to return ſome part of it back, the *Chamber* diſcounts to them only the firſt price of *five Crowns*: whereas in *Geneva* the *meaſure* by which they *buy* and *ſell* is the ſame, and the gain is ſo inconſiderable, that it is very little beyond the common market price; ſo that upon the whole matter the *Chamber of the Corn*, is but the *Merchant to the State*. But if the publick makes a moderate gain by the *Corn*, that, and all the other revenues of this ſmall *Commonwealth* are ſo well imployed, that there is no cauſe of complaint given in the adminiſtration of the publick purſe: which with the advantages that ariſe out of the *Chamber of the Corn*, is about 100000. *Crowns* revenue. But there is much to go out of this: 300. *Souldiers* are payed, an *Arſenal* is maintained, that in propottion to the *State* is the greateſt in the World, for it contains *Armes* for more *Men* than are in the *State*: there is a great number of *Miniſters* and *Profeſſors*, in all 24. payed out of it, beſides all the publick charges and Offices of the *Government*. Every one of the leſſer *Council* of 25. having a 100. *Crowns*, and every *Syndic* having 200. *Crowns* penſion: and after all this come the accidental Charges of the *Deputies*, that they are obliged to ſend often to *Paris*, to *Savoy* and to *Switzerland*, ſo that it is very

very apparent no man can enrich himſelf at the coſt of the Publick. And the appointments of the *little Council* are a very ſmall recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly 4. or 5. hours a day. The Salary for the *Profeſſors* and *Miniſters* is indeed ſmall, not above 200. *Crowns*; but to ballance this (which was a more competent proviſion when it was firſt ſet off 150. *years* ago, the price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightned) thoſe imployments are here held in their due reputation, and the richeſt *Citizens* in the *Town*, breed up their *Children* ſo, as to qualifie them for thoſe places. And a *Miniſter* that is ſuteable to his character, is thought ſo good a match, that generally they have ſuch Eſtates either by ſucceſſion, or marriage, as ſupport them ſuteably to the rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is ſo great a regulation upon expences of all ſorts, that a ſmall ſum goes a great way. It is a ſurpriſing thing to ſee ſo much *learning* as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among thoſe whoſe profeſſion obliges them to ſtudy, but among the *Magiſtrates* and *Citizens*, and if there are not many men of the firſt form of *learning* among them, yet every body almoſt here has a good tincture of a learned education, in ſo much, that they are *maſters* of the *Latin*, they know the *Controverſies* of *Religion*, and *Hiſtory*, and they are generally men of good ſenſe.

There is an univerſal *Civility*, not only towards *Strangers*, but towards one another, that reigns all the *Town* over, and leans to an exceſs: ſo that in them one ſees a mixture of a *French* openneſs, and an *Italian* exactneſs: there is indeed a little too much of the laſt.

The publick *Juſtice* of the *City* is quick and good, and is more commended than the private *Juſtice* of thoſe that deal in trade: a want of ſincerity is much lamented by thoſe that know the *Town* well. There is no publick leudneſs tolerated, and the diſorders of that ſort are managed with great addreſs. And notwithſtanding their neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, *drinking* is very little known among them. One of the beſt parts of their *Law* is the way of ſelling *Eſtates*, which is likewiſe practiſed in *Switzerland*, and is called *Subhaſtation*, from the *Roman* cuſtom of ſelling *Sub haſta*. A man that is to buy an *Eſtate*, agrees with the owner, and then intimates it to the *Government*; who order three ſeveral proclamations to be made ſix Weeks one after another of the intended ſale, that is to be on ſuch a day: when the day comes, the Creditors of the ſeller, if they apprehend that the *Eſtate* is ſold at an under value, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not interpoſe, the Buyer delivers the money to the *State*, which upon that, gives him his title to the *Eſtate*, which can never be ſo much as brought under a debate in Law; and the price is payed into the *State*, and is by them given either to the Creditors of the Seller, if he owes money, or to the ſeller himſelf.

This Cuſtom prevails likewiſe in *Swiſſe*, where alſo *twelve years* poſſeſſion gives a preſcription; ſo that in no place of the World are the *titles to Eſtates* ſo ſecure as here. The conſtitution of the *Government* is the ſame both in *Geneva*, and in moſt of the *Cantons*. The Soveraignty lies in the *Council* of 200. and this *Council* chuſes out of its number 25, who are the *leſſer Coun-*

Council; and the cenſure of the 25. belongs to the *great Council*, they are choſen by a ſort of *Ballot*, ſo that it is not known for whom they give their *votes*, which is an effectual method to ſuppreſs factions and reſentments; ſince in a competition, no man can know who voted for him or againſt him: yet the *Election* is not ſo carried, but that the whole *Town* is in an intrigue concerning it: for ſince the being of the *little Council* leads one to the *Sindicat*, which is the Chief honour of the *State*; this dignity is courted here, with as active and ſolicitous an ambition, as appears elſewhere for greater matters. The 200. are choſen and cenſured by the 25, ſo that theſe *two Councils*, which are both for life, are checks one upon another. The *Magiſtracy* is in the one, and the *Soveraignty* in the other. The number of 25. is never exceeded in the *leſſer Council*; but for the *greater*, tho' it paſſes by the name of the *Council* of 200, yet there are commonly 8. or 10. more, ſo that notwithſtanding the abſence or ſickneſs of ſome of the number, they may ſtill be able to call together near the full number. There is another *Council* beſides theſe *two*, compoſed of 60. conſiſting of thoſe of the 200. that have born *Offices*, ſuch as *Auditors*, *Attorney-Generals*, or thoſe that have been in other imployments, which are given for a determinate number of years: this *Court* has no *Authority*, but is called together by the 25, when any extraordinary occaſion makes it adviſable for them to call for a more general concurrence, in the Reſolutions that they are about to form. And this *Council* is of the nature of a *Council of State*, that only gives advice, but has no power in it ſelf to enforce its advice. The

whole body of the *Burgeſſes* chuſe the *Sindics* the firſt *Sunday* of the *year*, and there are ſome other *Elections* that do likewiſe belong to them. The difference between the *Burgeſſes* and *Citizens* is, that the former degree may be bought, or given to *Strangers*, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a *Citizen* but he that is the *Son* of a *Burgeſs*, and that is born within the *Town*.

I need ſay no more of the Conſtitution of this little *Republick*, its chief ſupport, is in the firm Alliance that has ſtood now ſo long between it, and the *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Zurich*, and it is ſo viſibly the intereſt of all *Switzerland*, to preſerve it, as the Key, by which it may be all laid open, that if the *Cantons* had not forgotten their Intereſt ſo palpably, in ſuffering the *French* to become Maſters of the *Franche Counte*, one would think that they would not be capable of ſuffering *Geneva* to be toucht: For all that can be done in fortifying the *Town*, can ſignifie no more, but to put it in caſe to reſiſt a ſurpriſe, or ſcalade: ſince if a Royal Army comes againſt it, to beſiege it in form, it is certain, that unleſs the *Switzers* come down with a force able to raiſe the ſiege, thoſe within will be able to make a very ſhort reſiſtance.

From *Geneva* I went through the Countrey of *Vaud*, or the *Valley*, and *Lauſanne* its *Chief Town*, in my way to *Bern*. The Town of *Lauſanne* is ſituated on three *Hills*, ſo that the whole *Town* is aſcent and deſcent, and that very ſteep, chiefly on the ſide on which the *Church* ſtands, which is a very noble Fabrique. The South-wall of the *Croſs* was ſo ſplit by an *Earthquake* about 30 *years* ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a foot

foot wide: Which was ſo cloſed up *ten years* after by another *Earthquake*, that now one only ſees where the breach was. This extravagant ſituation of the *Town* was occaſioned by a Legend of ſome *miracles* wrought near the *Church*: which prevailed ſo much on the credulity of that *age*, that by it the *Church*, and ſo in conſequence the Buildings near it were added to the old *Town*, which ſtood on the other *Hill*, where there was a *Town* made on the high-way from the *Lake* into *Switzerland*, to which the chief priviledges of the *Town*, particularly the judicature of life and death, do ſtill belong. Between *Geneva* and *this*, lies the *Lake*, which at the one end is called *the Lake of Geneva*, and at the other *the Lake of Lauſanne*. I need not mention the dimenſions of it which are ſo well known, only in ſome places the *depth* has never been found, for it is more then 500. *Fathom*; the Banks of the *Lake* are the beautifulleſt plots of ground that can be imagined; for they look as if they had been laid by art, the ſloping is ſo eaſie and ſo equal, and the grounds are ſo well cultivated and peopled, that a more delighting proſpect cannot be ſeen any where: the *Lake* is well ſtockt with excellent *Fish*, but their numbers do ſenſibly decreaſe, and one ſort is quite loſt; it is not only to be aſcribed to the ravenouſneſs of the *Pikes* that abound in it, but to another ſort of *Fish* that they call *Moutails*, which were never taken in the *Lake* till within theſe *ſix years* laſt paſt; they are in the *Lake of Neuf-Chaſtel*, and ſome of the other *Lakes* of *Switzerland*, and it is likely that by ſome conveyance under ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this *Lake*: the Water of the *Lake* is all clear and freſh. It is

not

not only a great pond made by the *Rhosne*, that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmixt, as some *Travellers* have fondly imagined, because sometimes a soft gale makes a curling of the Waters in some places, which runs smooth in the places over which that soft breath of Wind does not pass, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed, that there are also many great *Fountains* all over the *Lake*, these Springs do very probably flow from some vast cavities that are in the neighbouring *Mountains*, which are as great *Cisterns*, that discharge themselves in the *Valleys*, which are covered over with *Lakes*. And on the two sides of the *Alpes*, both North and South, there is so great a number of those little *Seas*, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast sources that feed so constantly those huge ponds. And when one considers the height of those *Hills*, the chain of so many of them together, & their extent both in length and breadth; if at first he thinks of the old Fables of laying one Hill upon the top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagin, according to the ingenious conjecture of one that travelled over them oftner than once, that these cannot be the primary productions of the *Author* of Nature; but are the vast ruins of the first *World*, which at the *Deluge* broke here into so many inequalities.

One *Hill* not far from *Geneva*, called *Maudit* or *Cursed*, of which one third is alwayes covered with Snow, is two miles of perpendicular height, according to the observation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philosopher, *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who at 22. *years* of age is already one of the greatest Men of his age, and seems to be born

to carry learning ſome ſiſes beyond what it has yet attained.

But now I will entertain you a little with the *State of Bern*; for that *Canton* alone is above a third part of all *Switzerland*. I will ſay nothing of its beginning nor Hiſtory, nor will I inlarge upon the Conſtitution, which are all well known. It has a *Council* of 200 that goes by that name, tho it conſiſts almoſt of 300, and another of 25, as *Geneva*. The Chief *Magiſtrates* are *two Advoyers*, who are not annual, as the *Sindics of Geneva*, but are for life; and have an authority not unlike that of the *Roman Conſuls*: each being his year by turns the *Advoyer* in office. After them, there are the four *Bannerets*, who anſwer to the *Tribunes of the People in Rome*: then come the two *Burſars* or *Treaſurers*, one for the ancient *German Territory*, the other for the *French Territory*, or the Countrey of *Vaud*, and the two laſt choſen of the 25 are called *the Secrets*; for to them all ſecrets relating to the *State* are diſcovered: and they have an authority of calling the 200 together when they think fit, and of accuſing thoſe of the *Magiſtracy*, the *Advoyers* themſelves nor excepted, as they ſee cauſe: tho this falls out ſeldom.

There are 72. *Bailiages*, into which the whole *Canton of Bern* is divided; and in every one of thoſe there is a *Bailif* named by the *Council* of 200, who muſt be a *Citizen of Bern*, and one of the 200, to which *Council* no man can be choſen till he is married: theſe *Bailiages* are imployments both of Honour and profit: for the *Bailif* is the *Governour* and *Judge* in that *Juriſdiction*: ſince tho he has ſome *Aſſeſſors*, who are choſen out of the *Bailiage*, yet he may by his Authority carry matters which way he will

will, againſt all their opinions, and the *Bailiffs* have all the *Confiſcations* and *fines*, ſo that *drinking* being ſo common in the Countrey, and that producing many quarrels, the *Bailif* makes his advantage of all thoſe diſorders: and in the 6 *years* of his Government, according to the quality of his *Bailiage* he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000. *Crowns* with him back to *Bern*: on which he lives till he can carry another *Bailiage*: for one is capable of being twice *Bailif*; but tho ſome have been *thrice Bailifs*, this is very extraordinary. The *Exactions* of the *Bailif* are the only Impoſitions or charges to which the *Inhabitants* are ſubjected, and theſe falling only on the irregularities and diſorders of the more debauched, makes that this grievance, tho in ſome particular caſes it preſſes hard, yet is not ſo univerſally felt: for a ſober and regular Man is in no danger. Many in this *Canton* are as in *England* Lords of *Caſtels*, or *Mannors*, and have a *Juriſdiction* annexed to their *Eſtates*, and name their *Magiſtrate*, who is called the *Caſtellan*. In matters of ſmall conſequence there lies no *appeal* from him to the *Bailif*, but beyond the value of two *Piſtols* an appeal lies, and no ſentence of *death* is excuted, till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies alſo an Appeal from the *Bailif* to the *Council at Bern*. There are many complaints of the injuſtice of the *Bailifs*: but their *Law* is ſhort and clear, ſo that a ſuit is ſoon ended, two or three hearings is the moſt, that even an intricate ſuit amounts to, either in the firſt inſtance before the *Bailif*, or in the ſecond Judgment at *Bern*. The *Citizens of Bern* conſider theſe *Bailiages* as their Inheritance, and they are courted in this *State* perhaps with as much

much Intrigue, as was ever uſed among the *Romans* in the diſtribution of their Provinces: and ſo little ſignifie the beſt Regulations when there are Intrinſick diſeaſes in a *ſtate*, that tho there is all poſſible precaution uſed in the nomination of theſe *Bailifs*, yet that has not preſerved this *ſtate* from falling under ſo great a miſchief by thoſe little *Provinces*; that as it has already in a great meaſure corrupted their morals, ſo it may likely turn in concluſion to the ruin of this *Republick*. All the *Electors* give their voices by *ballot*, ſo that they are free from all after game in the nomination of the perſon: all the kindred of the pretenders, even to the remoteſt degrees, are excluded from voting, as are alſo all their creditors, ſo that none can vote but thoſe who ſeem to have no intereſt in the Iſſue of the competition; and yet there is ſo much intrigue and ſo great a corruption in the diſtribution of theſe imployments, that the whole buſineſs in which all *Bern* is ever in motion, is the catching of the beſt *Bailiages*, on which a family will have its Eye for many years before they fall; for the *Counſellors* of *Bern* give a very ſmall ſhare of their Eſtates to their Children when they marry them: all that they propoſe is to make a *Bailiage* ſure to them: for this, they feaſt and drink, and ſpare nothing by which they may make ſure a ſufficient number of votes; but it is the *chamber* of the *Bannerets* that admits the pretenders to the competition. When the *Bailif* is choſen, he takes all poſſible methods to make the beſt of it he can, and lets few crimes paſs, that carry either

either confiscations or fines after them, his justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the *Bailiage* may complain to the *Council at Bern*, as the oppressed *Provinces* did anciently to the *Senate of Rome*, and there have been severe judgments against some very exorbitant *Bailifs*; yet as complaints are not made, except upon great occasions, which are not often given by the *Bailifs*, so it being the general interest of the *Citizens of Bern* to make all possible advantages of those imployments, the censure will be but genrle, except the complaint is crying.

In *Bern* there is very little *Trade*, only what is necessary for the support of the *Town*. They maintain *Professors* in the Universities of *Bern*, and *Lausanne*; the one for the *German Territory*, which is the Ancient *Canton*, and the other for the new Conquest, which is the *French*: In the former there are about 300. *Parishes*; in the latter there are but about 150: But in the *Benefices* of the *German* side, the ancient Rights of the incumbents are generally preserved so, that some Benefices are worth a thousand *Crowns*: Whereas in the *païs des Vaud*, the provisions are set off as sallaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred *Crowns*: It is visible that those of *Bern* trust more to the affections and fidelity of their *subjects*, than to the strength of their *Walls*; For as they have never finished them, so what is built, cannot be brought to a regular fortification; and it is not preserved with any care, nor furnished with *Canon*; but if they have none on their Ramparts, they have good store in their *Arsenal*, in which they say there are

Arms

Arms for forty thouſand Men.

The *Peaſants* are generally rich, chiefly on the *German* ſide, and are all well *Armed*; they pay no duties to the Publick: and the ſoil is capable of great cultivation, in which ſome ſucceed ſo well, that I was ſhewed ſome that were by accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had of *Eſtate* to the value of an hundred thouſand *Crowns*, but that is not ordinary; yet ten thouſand *Crowns* for a *Peaſant*, is no extraordinary matter. They live much on their Milk and Corn, which in ſome places, as about *Payern*, yields an encreaſe of 15. meaſures after one: they breed many *Horſes*, which bring them in a great deal of money. The worſt thing in the Countrey is, the moiſture of the *Air*, which is not only occaſioned by the many *Lakes* that are in it, and the Neighbouring *Mountains* that are covered with *Snow*, ſome all the Summer long, and the reſt till Mid-Summer; but by the vaſt quantity of Woods of *Fir-trees*, which ſeem to fill very near the half of their ſoil; and if theſe were for the moſt part rooted out, as they would have much more ſoil, ſo their *Air* would be much purer; yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their fewel, this cannot be done. I was told, that they had found *Coal* in ſome places: If the Coal is conveniently ſituated, ſo that by their Lakes and Rivers it can be eaſily carried over the Countrey, it may ſave them a great extent of ground, that as it is covered with Wood, ſo the Air becomes thereby the more unwholſome.

They have ſome Fountains of *Salt-water*, but the making Salt conſumes ſo much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to any account.

The *Men* are generally ſincere, but heavy; they think it neceſſary to correct the moiſture of the Air with liberal entertainments; and they are well furniſhed with all neceſſary ingredients; for as their ſoil produces good *Cattle*, ſo their Lakes abound in *Fish*, and their Woods in *Fowl*, the *Wine* is alſo light and good. The *Women* are generally imployed in their domeſtick Affairs; and the *Wives* even of the chief Magiſtrates of *Bern*, look into all the concerns of the Houſe and Kitchin, as much as the Wives of the meaneſt Peaſants. Men and Women do not converſe promiſcuouſly together, and the Women are ſo much amuſed with the management at home, and enter ſo little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Phyſitian there told me, *they know not what Vapours are*, which he imputed to the idleneſs and the intrigues that abound elſewhere; whereas, he ſaid, among them the Blood was cleanſed by their labour, and as that made them ſleep well, ſo they did not amuſe themſelves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were: The *third Adultery* is puniſhed with death, which is alſo the puniſhment of the *fifth* act of *Fornication*; of which I ſaw an inſtance while I was in *Bern*: For a Woman, who confeſſed her ſelf guilty of many *Whoredoms*, and deſigned to be revenged on ſome Men, that did not furniſh her liberally with money, was upon that condemned

demned and executed; the manner was ſolemn; for the *Advoyer* comes into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the ſatisfaction of the people, the whole Proceſs was read, and Sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all: the Councellors both of the great and leſſer Council ſtanding about the *Advoyer*, who after Sentence took the Criminal very gently by the hand, and prayed for her Soul; and after Execution, there was a Sermon for the inſtruction of the people.

The whole *State* is diſpoſed fot *War*; for every man that can bear Arms is liſted; and knows his Poſt and Arms; and there are *Beacons* ſo laid over the Country, that the ſignal can run over the whole *Canton* in a night: And their Military *Liſts* are ſo laid, that every man knows whether he is to come out upon the firſt or ſecond, or not till the general ſummons. They aſſured me at *Bern*, that upon a General Summons they could bring above 80000 *Men* together. The *Men* are robuſt and ſtrong, and capable of great hardſhip, and of good Diſcipline, and have generally an extream ſenſe of Liberty, and a great love to their Country; but they labour under a want of Officers. And tho the ſubjects of the *State* are Rich, yet the publick is poor; they can well reſiſt a ſudden Invaſion of their Countrey; but they would ſoon grow weary of a long War; and the ſoil requires ſo much cultivation, that they could not ſpare from their labour the Men that would be neceſſary to preſerve their Countrey: they were indeed as

happy as a people could be, when the *Emperour* had *Alſace* on the one hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other, they had no reaſon to fear their Neighbours; but now that both thoſe *Provinces* are in the hands of the *French*, the caſe is quite altered; for as *Baſil* is every moment in danger from the Garriſon of *Hunningen*, that is but a Canon-ſhot diſtant from it, ſo all the *Païs de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither Fortified Places, nor good Paſſes to ſecure it; ſo that their errour in ſuffering this to fall into the hands of the *French* was ſo groſs, that I took ſome pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this account, that I had from one who was then in a very Eminent Poſt, ſo that as he certainly knew the Secret, he ſeemed to ſpeak ſincerely to me. He told me, that the *Duke of Lorraine*, had often moved in the *Councils of War*, that the Invaſion of *France* ought to be made on that ſide, in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified; this he repeated often, and it was known in *France*: ſo that, the *King* reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Comté*, but uſed that precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Switzers*, he offered a neutrality on that ſide: but the *Spaniards*, who judged right, that it was as much the intereſt of the *Cantons*, as it was theirs, to preſerve the *Comté* in their hands, refuſed to conſent to it; but they took no care to defend it, and ſeemed to leave that to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while, the *French Money* went about very liberally at *Bern*, and after

ter thoſe that were moſt likely to make oppoſition were gained; the *French Miniſter* propoſed to them the neceſſity in which his Maſter found himſelf engaged to ſecure himſelf on that ſide; but that ſtill he would grant a neutrality on their account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this, all the Aſſurances that could be given in Words were offered to them, that they ſhould never find the leaſt Prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*; but on the contrary, all poſſible Protection. There was juſt Cauſe given by the *Spaniards* to conſider them very little in their Deliberation: for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor ſend a conſiderable force to preſerve the Country, ſo that it ſeemed almoſt inevitable to give way to the *French* Propoſition; but one propoſed that which an unbyaſſed Aſſembly would certainly have accepted, that they ſhould go themſelves and take the Country; and by ſo doing, they would ſecure the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to deſire; and they might eaſily ſatisfy the *Spaniards*, and reimburſe themſelves of the Expence of the Invaſion, by reſtoring the *Country* to them, when a General Peace ſhould be made. He laid out the miſery to which their Countrey muſt be reduced by ſo powerful a Neighbour, but all was loſt labour; ſo he went out in a rage, and publiſhed through the *Town*, that *the State was ſold, and all was loſt*. They now ſee their error too late, and would repair it, if it were poſſible,

but the truth is, many of the particular *Members* of this *State*, do ſo prey upon the publick, that unleſs they do with one conſent reform thoſe Abuſes, they will never be in a condition to do much: for in many of their *Bailiages*, of which ſome are *Abbeys*, the *Bailifs* not only feed on the *Subjects*, but likewiſe on the *State*, and pretend they are ſo far ſuper-expended, that they diſcount a great deal of the publick revenue, of which they are the Receivers for their Reimburſement: which made *Mr. d'Erlack* once ſay, when one of thoſe Accounts was preſented, *That it was very ſtrange if the Abbey could not feed the Monks.* It is true, the power of their *Bannerets* is ſo great, that one would think they might redreſs many Abuſes. The *City of Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our *Companies of London*, which are the *Bakers*, the *Butchers*, the *Tanners*, and the *Black-ſmiths*, and every *Citizen* of *Bern* does incorporate himſelf into one of theſe Societies, which they call *Abbeys*; for it is likely they were antiently a ſort of a Religious Fraternity: every one of theſe chuſes two *Bannerets*, who bear office by turns, from four years to four years, and every one of them has a *Bailiage* annexed to his Office, which he holds for life. They carry their name from the *Banners* of the ſeveral *Abbeys*, as the *Gonfaloniers* of *Italy*: and the *Advoyers* carry ſtill their name from the ancient titles *Ecdicus*, or *Advocate*, that was the title of the Chief *Magiſtrates* of the *Towns* in the times of

of the *Roman Emperours*. The Chamber of the Four *Bannerets* that bear Office, has a vaſt Power, they examine and paſs all Accounts, and they admit all the Competitors to any offices, ſo that no man can be propoſed to the *Councill* of 200. without their Approbation; and this being now the Chief Intrigue of their *State*, they have ſo abſolute an Authority in ſhutting men out from imployments, that their office, which is for life, is no leſs conſiderable than that of the *Advoyer*, tho they are inferiour to him in rank. They manage matters with great addreſs, of which this inſtance was given me in a competition for the *Advoyership* not long ago; there was one whoſe temper was violent, that had made it ſo ſure among thoſe who were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his kindred, nor Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other competitor, whom they favoured, ſo they ſet up a third competitor, whoſe kindred were the perſons that were made ſure to him, whoſe advancement they oppoſed, and by this means they were all ſhut out from voting, ſo that the *Election* went according to the deſign of the *Bannerets*. The chief man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning *Advoyer* when I was there, is *Mr. d'Erlack*, Nephew to that *Mr. d'Erlack*, who was *Guvernour* of *Briſack*, and had a brevet to be a *Mariſchal of France*; this is one of the nobleſt Families in *Bern*, that acted a great part in ſhaking off the *Auſtrian Tyranny*, and they have been ever ſince very much diſtinguiſhed there from all the reſt of their

Nobility, The preſent *Head* of it is a very extraordinary *Man*, he has a great Authority in his *Canton*, not only as he is *Advoyer*, but by the particular eſteem which is payed him. For he is thought the wiſeſt and worthieſt Man of the *State*, tho it is ſomewhat ſtrange how he ſhould bear ſuch a ſway in ſuch a *Government*; for he neither feaſts, nor drinks with thereſt. He is a Man of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reſerved, and behaves himſelf liker a *Miniſter of State* in a *Monarchy*, than a *Magiſtrate* in a *Popular Government*. For one ſees in him none of thoſe Arts, that ſeem neceſſary in ſuch a Government. He has a great Eſtate, and no Children; ſo he has no Projects for his Family; and does what he can to correct the Abuſes of the *State*, tho the diſeaſe is inveterate, and ſeems paſt cure.

He had a Misfortune in a *War* that was thirty years ago, in the year 1656. between the *Popiſh* and the *Proteſtant Cantons*: the occaſion of which will engage me in a ſhort digreſſion. The peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preſerved by a *Law* agreed on among all the *Cantons*, that every *Canton* may make what Regulations concerning *Religion* they think fit, without prejudice to the *General League*. Now the *Popiſh Cantons* have made *Laws*, that it ſhall be capital to any to change their *Religion*, and on a ſet day every year they go all to Maſs, and the *Maſters of Families* ſwear to continue true to the *State*, and firm in their *Religion* to their lives end; and ſo they pretend they puniſh their falling into Hereſie with death and Con-

Confiscation of Goods, because it is a violation of the Faith, which is so solemnly sworn. But on the other hand, in the *Protestant Cantons*, such as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the *Canton*, but for their Estates, they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the merciful Spirit of the *Gospel* in the one, than in the other. In *two Cantons*, *Appenzel*, and *Glanis*, both Religions are tollerated, and are capable of equal Priviledges, and in some *Bailiages* that were conquered in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the *two Cantons* name the *Bailifs* by turns, and both *Religions* are so equally tollerated, that in the same *Church* they have both *Mass* and *Sermon*, so equally, that on *one Sunday*, the *Mass* begins, and the *Sermon* follows, and the *next Sunday*, the *Sermon* begins, and the *Mass* comes next, without the least disorder or murmuring.

But in the *year* 1656. some of the *Cantons* of *Schwitz* changing their *Religion*, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Estates were confiscated; and some others, that had also changed, but had not left the *Canton*, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Estates of the refugies, but instead of granting this, the *Canton* of *Schwitz* demanded back their subjects, that they might proceed against them as delinquents, and they founded this on a Law, by which the *Cantons* are obliged to deliver up the Criminals of another *Canton*, when they come among them, if they are demanded by the

Canton to which they belong; but thoſe of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both inhuman and unchriſtian, tho the *Deputy of Baſil* was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extreamly diſguſted thoſe of *Zurich*. Thoſe of *Schwitz* committed ſome inſolences upon the ſubjects of *Zurich*, and refuſed to give ſatisfaction. Upon all which a War followed between the *Proteſtant* and *Popish* Cantons. The Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* raiſed an Army of 25000 Men, which was commanded by *Mr. d'Erlak*, but was diſperſed in ſeveral Bodies: And the *Papiſts* had not above 6000, yet they ſurpriſed *Mr. d'Erlack* with a body not much ſuperiour to theirs, both ſides after a ſhort engagement run, the Canon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole day, at laſt thoſe of *Lucern* ſeeing that none ſtayed to defend the Canon, carried them off; this loſs raiſed ſuch a tumult in *Bern*, that they ſeemed reſolved to ſacrifice *Mr. d'Erlack*; but he came with ſuch a preſence of mind, and gave ſo ſatisfying an account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceaſed, and ſoon after the *War* ended. Upon this many thought, that tho the *Papiſts* acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other *Canton* could pretend to interpoſe or quarrel with thoſe of *Schwitz* for what they did upon that occaſion. Within theſe few years there were ſome quarrels like to ariſe in the *Canton of Glaris*, where it was ſaid, that the equal priviledges agreed on to both *Religions* were not preſerved; but on

this

this occaſion the *Popes Nuntio* acted a very different part from that which might have been expected from him; For whereas the *Miniſters* of that *Court* have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the diſputes that concern *Religion*, he acted rather the part of a Mediator; and whereas it was viſible, that the injuſtice lay on the ſide of the *Papiſts*, he interpoſed ſo effectually with thoſe of *Lucern*, which is the chief of the *Popish Cantons*, that the difference was compoſed.

But to return to *Bern*, the buildings have neither great magnificence, nor many Apartments, but they are convenient, and ſuited to the way of living in the Country. The *Streets* not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the ſmalleſt *Villages*, are furniſhed with *Fountains* that run continually, which as they are of great uſe, ſo they want not their beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick; but being built on the top of the Hill on which the Town ſtands, it ſeems the ground began to fail, ſo to ſupport it, they have raiſed a vaſt Fabrick, which has coſt more than the Church it ſelf; for there is a Platform made, which is a ſquare, to which the *Church* is one ſide, and the further ſide is a vaſt *Wall*, fortified with buttreſſes about 150 foot high. They told me, that all the ground down to the bottom of the Hill was dug into vaults; this plat-form is the chief walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun ſet; and the *River* underneath preſents a vety beautiful proſpect: For there is a Cut taken off from it for the Mills,

Mills, but all along as this cut goes the Water of *Aar* runs over a ſloping bank of Stone, which they ſay, was made at a vaſt charge, and makes a noble and large *Caſcade*.

The ſecond Church is the *Dominicans Chappel*, where I ſaw the famous hole that went to an *Image* in the Church, from one of the *Cells* of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to ſet down that Story at ſome length: For as it was one of the moſt ſignal cheats, that the World has known: ſo it falling out about *twenty years* before the *Reformation* was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the ſpirits of the people to that change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, becauſe I read the *original proceſs* in the *Latin record*, ſigned by the *Notaries* of the Court of the *delegates* that the *Pope* ſent to try the matter. The record is above 130 ſheets, writ cloſe, and of all ſides, it being indeed a large volume; and I found the printed accounts ſo defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole proceſs, of which I will give here a true abſtract.

The two famous *Orders*, that had poſſeſſed themſelves of the eſteem of thoſe dark *ages*, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The *Dominicans* were the more learned, they were the eminenteſt Preachers of thoſe times, and had the conduct of the *Courts of Inquſition*, and the other chief offices in the *Church* in their hands. But on the other hand, the *Franciſcans* had an outward appearance of more ſeverity, a ruder habit, ſtricter rules, and greater

ter poverty : all which gave them ſuch advantages in the eyes of the ſimple multitude, as were able to ballance the other honours of the *Dominican Order*. In ſhort, the two *Orders* were engaged in a high rivalry, but the devotion towards the *Virgin* being the prevailing paſſion of thoſe times, the *Franciſcans* upon this had great advantages. The *Dominicans*, that are all engaged in the defence of *Thomas Aquinas's* opinions, were thereby obliged to aſſert, that ſhe was born in *Original Sin*; this was propoſed to the people by the *Franciſcans* as no leſs than *Blaſphemy*, and by this the *Dominicans* began to loſe ground extreamly in the minds of the people, who were ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the *immaculate Conception*.

About the beginning of the 15th *Century*, a *Franciſcan* happened to preach in *Francfort*, and one *Wigand a Dominican* coming into the Church, the *Cordelier* ſeeing him, broke out into exclamations, praiſing God that he was not of an *Order* that prophaned the *Virgin*, or that poyſoned *Princes* in the Sacrament, (for a *Dominican* had poyſoned the Emperor *Henry* the VII. with the *Sacrament*,) *Wigand* being extreamly provoked with this bloody reproach, gave him the Lye, upon which a diſpute aroſe, which ended in a tumult, that had almoſt coſt the *Dominican* his life, yet he got away. The whole *Order* reſolved to take their revenge, and in a *Chapter*, held at *Vimpſen* in the year 1504. they contrived a method for ſupporting the credit of their Order,

der, which was much ſunk in the opinion of the people, and for bearing down the reputation of the *Franciſcans*, four of the junćto undertook to manage the deſign; for they ſaid, ſince the people were ſo much diſpoſed to believe Dreams and Fables, they muſt dream of their ſide, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done. They reſolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the project ſhould be put in execution; for they found the people of *Bern*, at that time apt to Swallow any thing, and not diſpoſed to make ſevere Enquiries into extraordinary Matters. When they had formed their deſign, a fit Tool preſented it ſelf; for one *Jetzer* came to take their habit as a *Lay-brother*, who had all the diſpoſitions that were neceſſary for the execution of their project: For he was extream ſimple, and was much inclined to Auſterities, ſo having obſerved his temper well, they began to execute their project, the very Night after he took the *Habit*, which was on *Lady-day* 1507. one of the *Fryers* conveyed himſelf ſecretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in *Purgatory*, in a ſtrange figure, and he had a Box near his mouth, upon which as he blew, fire ſeemed to come out of his mouth. He had alſo ſome Dogs about him, that appeared as his Tormentors, in this poſture he came near the *Fryer*, while he was a Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they uſed to tell all their *Fryers*, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aſide their habit, which was, that one of the *Order*, who

was

was Superiour of their Houſe at *Soloturn*, had gone to *Paris*, but laying aſide his habit, was killed in his Lay-habit. The Fryer in the Vizar ſaid, he was that perſon, and was condemned to *Purgatory* for that Crime; but he added, that he might be reſcued out of it by his means, and he ſeconded this with moſt horrible Cries, expreſſing the Miſeries which he ſuffered. The poor Fryer (*Jetzer*) was exceſſively frighted, but the other advanced, and required a Promiſe of him to do that which he ſhould deſire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment. The frighted *Fryer* promiſed all that he asked of him; then the other ſaid, he knew he was a great Saint, and that his prayers and mortifications would prevail, but they muſt be very extraordinary. The whole *Monaſtery* muſt for a week together diſcipline themſelves with a Whip, and he muſt lie proſtrate in the form of one on a *Croſs*, in one of their *Chappels*, while Maſs was ſaid in the ſight of all that ſhould come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he ſhould find the effects of the love that the B. *Virgin* did bear him, together with many other extraordinary things; and ſaid, he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits; and aſſured him, that all that he did ſuffer for his deliverance, ſhould be moſt glorioufly rewarded. Morning was no ſooner come than the *Frier* gave an account of this Apparition to the reſt of the *Convent*, who ſeemed extreamly ſurpriſed at it, they all preſſed him to undergo the diſci-

pline

pline that was enjoyned him, and every one undertook to bear his ſhare; ſo the deluded *Fryer* performed it all exactly in one of the *Chappels* of their *Church*: This drew a vaſt number of Spectators together, who all conſidered the poor *Fryer* as a Saint, and in the mean while the four *Fryers* that managed the impoſture, magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the ſkies in their Sermons. The *Fryer's* Confeſſor was upon the Secret, and by this means they knew all the little paſſages of the poor *Fryers* life, even to his thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the matter. The *Confeſſor* gave him an *Hoſtie*, with a piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the *Croſs*, and by theſe he was to fortify himſelf, if any other Apparitions ſhould come to him, ſince evil Spirits would be certainly chained up by them. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the maſqued *Fryer* brought two others with him in ſuch Vizzards, that the *Fryer* thought they were Devils indeed. The *Fryer* preſented the *Hoſtie* to them, which gave them ſuch a check, that he was fully ſatisfied of the vertue of this preſervative.

The *Fryer*, that pretended he was ſuffering in *Purgatory*, ſaid ſo many things to him relating to the Secrets of his life, and Thoughts, which he had from the *Confeſſor*, that the poor *Fryer* was fully poſſeſſed with the opinion of the reallity of the Apparition. In two of theſe Apparitions, that were both managed in the ſame manner, the *Fryer* in the Maſque talked

talked much of the *Dominican Order*, which he ſaid was exceſſively dear to the B. *Virgin*, who knew her ſelf to be conceived in Original ſin, and that the *Doctors* who taught the contrary were in Purgatory: That the Story of S. *Bernards* appearing with a ſpot on him, for having oppoſed himſelf to the feaſt of the Conception, was a Forgery: but that it was true, that ſome hideous Flies had appeared on St. *Bonaventures* Tomb, who taught the contrary. That the *B. Virgin* abhorred the *Cordeliers*, for making her equal to her Son; that *Scotus* was damned, whoſe Canonization the *Cordeliers* were then ſoliciting hard at *Rome*; and that the Town of *Bern* would be deſtroyed for harbouring ſuch plagues within their walls. When the injoined diſcipline was fully performed, the *Spirit* appeared again, and ſaid, he was now delivered out of *Purgatory*, but before he could be admitted to Heaven he muſt receive the Sacrament, having died without it, and after that he would ſay Maſs for thoſe, who had by their great charities, reſcued him out of his pains. The *Fryer* fancied the voice reſembled the *Priors* a little; but he was then ſo far from ſuſpecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this ſuſpition. Some dayes after this, the ſame *Fryer* appeared as a *Nun* all in Glory, and told the poor Frier, that ſhe was St. *Barbary*, for whom he had a particular devotion, and added, that the *B. Virgin* was ſo much pleaſed with his charity, that ſhe intended to come and viſit him: He immediately called the

Convent together, and gave the reſt of the *Fryers* an account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy; and the *Fryer* languiſhed in deſires of the accompliſhment of the promiſe, that St. *Barbara* had made him. After ſome dayes, the longed for deluſion appeared to him, clothed as the *Virgin* uſed to be on the great Feaſts, and indeed in the ſame Habits: there were about her ſome *Angels*, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of Angels, which they ſet on the Altars on the great Holy Dayes. There was alſo a pulley faſtned in the room over his head, and a cord tied to the Angels, that made them riſe up in the Air, and fliet about the *Virgin*, which encreaſed the deluſion. The *Virgin*, after ſome endearments to himſelf, extolling the merit of his charity and diſcipline, told him, that ſhe was conceived in Original Sin, and that *Pope Julius the Second*, that then reigned, was to put an end to the Diſpute, and was to aboliſh the Feaſt of her Conception, which *Sixtus the fourth* had inſtituted, and that the *Fryer* was to be the Inſtrument of perſwading the *Pope* of the truth in that matter: She gave him *three drops* of her Sons blood, which were *three tears* of blood that he had ſhed over *Jeruſalem*, and this ſignified that ſhe was *three hours* in Original Sin, after which ſhe was, by his Mercy, delivered out of that State: For it ſeems the *Dominicans* were reſolved ſo to compound the matter, that they ſhould gain the main point of her Conception in Sin; yet they would

would comply ſo far with the reverence for the *Virgin*, with which the World was poſſeſſed, that ſhe ſhould be believed to have remained a very ſhort while in that State. She gave him alſo five drops of Blood in the form of a Croſs, which were *Tears* of Blood, that ſhe had ſhed while her Son was on the Croſs. And, to convince him more fully, ſhe preſented an *Hoſtie* to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hoſtie, and of a ſudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of thoſe ſuppoſed viſits was often repeated to the abuſed *Fryer*; at laſt the *Virgin* told him, that ſhe was to give him ſuch marks of her Sons Love to him, that the matter ſhould be paſt all doubt. She ſaid, that the five wounds of St. *Lucia*, and S. *Catherine* were real wounds, and that ſhe would alſo imprint them on him; ſo ſhe bid him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to ſuffer ſo much: but ſhe forced his hand, and ſtruck a nail thro it, the hole was as big as a grain of peaſe, and he ſaw the Candle clearly thro it; this threw him out of a ſuppoſed tranſport into a real Agony; but ſhe ſeemed to touch his hand, and he thought he ſmelt an Oyntment, with which ſhe anointed it, tho his *Confeſſor* perſwaded him, that that was only an imagination, ſo the ſuppoſed *Virgin* left him for that time.

The next night the Apparition returned, and brought ſome linnen Clothes, which had ſome real or imaginary vertue to allay his Torment: and the pretended *Virgin* ſaid, they were ſome of the Linnings in which Chriſt was

wrapped, and with that ſhe gave him a ſopo-riferous draught, and while he was faſt a-ſleep, the other four wounds were imprinted on his body, in ſuch a manner that he felt no pain.

But in order to the doing of this, the *Friers* betook themſelves to Charms, and the *Subprior* ſhewed the reſt a book full of them; but he ſaid, that before they could be effectual, they muſt renounce God, and he not only did this himſelf, but by a formal act put in writing ſigned with his Blood, he dedicated himſelf to the Devil; it is true, he did not oblige the reſt to this, but only to renounce God. The compoſi-tion of the Draught was a mixture of ſome Foun-tain-water and Chriſm, the Hairs of the Eye-brows of a Child, ſome Quickſilver, ſome grains of Incenſe, ſomewhat of an Eaſter Wax-Candle, ſome conſecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptiſed Child. This Compo-ſition was a ſecret, which the *Subprior* did not communicate to the other *Friers*. By this the poor Frier *Jetzer* was made almoſt quite inſenſible: when he was awake, and came out of this deep ſleep, he felt this won-derful impreſſion on his body, and now he was raviſhed out of meaſure, and came to fancy himſelf to be acting all the parts of our Saviours Paſſion: he was expoſed to the people on the great Altar, to the amaſement of the whole Town, and to the no ſmall mortifica-tion of the *Franciſcans*. The *Dominicans* gave him ſome other draughts that threw him into convulſions, and when he came out of thoſe, a

voice

voice was heard, which came thro that *hole* which yet remains, and runs from one of the *Cells* along a great part of the wall of the *Church*: for a *Frier* ſpoke thro a pipe, and at the End of the hole there was an *Image* of the *Virgins*, with a little *Jeſus* in her arms, between whom and his mother the voice ſeemed to come; the Image alſo ſeemed to ſhed Tears, and a Painter had drawn thoſe on her Face ſo lively, that the people were deceived by it. The little Jeſus askt, why ſhe wept? and ſhe ſaid, it was becauſe his honour was given to her, ſince it was ſaid that ſhe was born without ſin; in Concluſion, the *Fryers* did ſo over act this matter, that at laſt even the poor deluded *Fryer* himſelf came to diſcover it, and reſolved to quit the order.

It was in vain to delude him with more *Apparitions*; for he well nigh kill'd a *Fryer* that came to him perſonating the *Virgin* in another ſhape with a Crown on her head: he alſo over-heard the *Fryers* once talking amongſt themſelves, of the Contrivance and Succeſs of the impoſture, ſo plainly, that he diſcovered the whole Matter, and upon that, as may be eaſily imagined, he was filled with all the horrour with which ſuch a Diſcovery could inſpire him.

The *Fryers* fearing that an impoſture, which was carried on hitherto with ſo much ſucceſs, ſhould be quite ſpoiled, and be turned againſt them, thought the ſureſt way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him

in what eſteem he would be, if he continued to ſupport the reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the chief perſon of the *Order*; and in the end they perſuaded him to go on with the Impoſture: but at laſt, they fearing leſt he ſhould diſcover all, reſolved to poyſon him: of which he was ſo apprehenſive, that once a Loaf being brought him that was prepared with ſome ſpices, he kept it for ſome time, and it growing green, he threw it to ſome young Wolves Whelps that were in the Monaſtery, who died immediately. His conſtitution was alſo ſo vigorous, that tho they gave him Poyſon five ſeveral times, he was not deſtroyed by it; they alſo preſt him earneſtly to renounce God, which they judged neceſſary, that ſo their Charms might have their effect on him; but he would never conſent to that: at laſt they forced him to take a poyſoned *Hoſtie*, which yet he vomited up ſoon after he had ſwallowed it down; that failing, they uſed him ſo cruelly, whipping him with an iron Chain, and girding him about ſo ſtrait with it, that to avoid further Torment he ſwore to them, in a moſt imprecating ſtile, that he would never diſcover the ſecret, but would ſtill carry it on; and ſo he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the *Convent*, and of throwing himſelf into the hands of the *Magiſtrates*, to whom he diſcovered all.

The four *Fryers* were ſeiſed on, and put in priſon, and an account of the whole Manter was ſent, firſt to the *Biſhop* of *Lauſanne*, and

and then to *Rome*; and it may be eaſily imagined, that the *Franciſcans* took all poſſible care to have it well examined, the *Biſhop* of *Lauſanne*, and of *Zyon*, with the *Provincial* of the *Dominicans*, were appointed to form the Proceſs. The four *Fryers* firſt excepted to *Jetzers* credit; but that was rejected: then being threatned with the *Queſtion*, they put in a long plea againſt that; but tho the *Provincial* would not conſent to that, yet they were put to the queſtion; ſome endured it long; but at laſt, they all confeſſed the whole progreſs of the Impoſture. The *Provincial* appeared concerned; for tho *Jetzer* had opened the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no credit to him; on the contrary, he Charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the *Friers* ſaid plainly, that he was in the whole ſecret, and ſo he withdrew, but he died ſome dayes after at *Conſtance*, having poyſon'd himſelf, as was believed. The Matter lay aſleep ſome time, but a year after that, a *Spaniſh Biſhop* came, authoriſed with full power from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four *Friers* were ſolemnly degraded from their *Prieſthood*, and Eight dayes after, it being the laſt of *May* 1509, they were *Burnt* in a Medow, on the other ſide of the River, over againſt the great *Church*; The place of their *Execution* was ſhewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall, thro which the *Voice* was Conveyed to the *Image*. It was certainly one of the blackeſt, and yet the beſt Carried on Cheat, that has

been ever known; and no doubt had the poor *Fryer* died, before the diſcovery, it had paſſed down to *poſterity*, as one of the greateſt *Miracles* that ever was, and it gives a ſhrewd ſuſpition, that many of the other *Miracles* of that *Church*, were of the ſame nature, but more ſucceſsfully finiſhed.

I ſhall not entertain you any further with the *State of Bern*, but ſhall only add one general remark, which was too viſible not to be obſerved every where; and of too great importance not to deſerve a particular reflection; it belongs in general to all the *Cantons*, but I give it here, becauſe I had more occaſion to make it in *Bern*, having ſeen it more, and ſtayed longer in it, than in the other *Cantons*.

Switzerland lies between *France* and *Italy*, that are both of them Countries incomparably more Rich, and better furniſhed with all the Pleaſures and Conveniences of Life than it is; and yet *Italy* is almoſt quite diſpeopled, and the people in it are reduced to a miſery, that can ſcarce be imagined by thoſe who have not ſeen it; and *France* is in a great meaſure diſpeopled, and the inhabitants are reduced to a poverty that appears in all the marks in which it can ſhew it ſelf, both in their houſes, furniture, cloths and looks.

On the Contrary, *Switzerland* is extream full of people, and in everal places in the *Villages*, as well as in their *towns*, one ſees all the marks he can look for of Plenty and Wealth, their Houſes and Windows are in good caſe, the High

Wayes

Wayes are well maintained, all people are well Clothed, and every one lives at his eaſe. This Obſervation ſurpriſed me yet more in the *Countrey* of the *Griſons*, who have almoſt no ſoil at all, being ſituated in *Valleys*, that are almoſt all waſhed away with the Torrents, that fall down from the *Hills*, and ſwell their brooks ſometimes ſo violently, and ſo ſuddenly, that in many places the whole ſoil is waſhed away, and yet thoſe *Valleys* are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at eaſe, under a gentle *Government*, whilſt other rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to ſuch Miſery, that as many of the inhabitants are forced to change their ſeats, ſo thoſe who ſtay behind, can ſcarce live and pay thoſe grievous Impoſitions that are laid upon them; the *rude people* generally reaſon very ſimply when they enter into Speculations of *Government*, but *they feel true*, *tho they argue falſe*; ſo an eaſy Government, tho joyned to an ill ſoil, and accompanied with great inconveniences, draws, or at leaſt keeps people in it; whereas a ſevere Government, tho in general ideas it may appear reaſonable, drives its ſubjects even out of the beſt and moſt deſirable ſeats.

In my way from *Bern* to this place I paſſed by *Soloturn*, and I came thro *Fribourg* in my way from *Lauſanne* to *Bern*, theſe are *two* of the Chief of the *Popish Cantons*, after *Lucerne*, and one ſees in them a heat, and bigotry beyond what appears either in *France* or *Italy*: long before they come within the *Church* doors they kneel down in the *Streets*

when *Maſs* is a ſaying in it. The *Images* are alſo extream groſs. In the Chief Church of *Soloturn* there is an Image of *God the Father*, as an old man with a great black beard, having our Saviour on his knees, and a Pigeon over his head. Here alſo begins a devotion at the *Ave-Mary*-bel, which is ſcarce known in *France*, but is practiſed all *Italy* over: At noon and at Sun ſet the Bell rings, and all ſay the *Ave-Mary*, and a ſhort prayer to the *Virgin*; but whereas in *Italy* they content themſelves with putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they do for the moſt part kneel down in the Streets, which I ſaw no where practiſed in *Italy* except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithſtanding this extream bigotry, all the *Switzers* ſee their common intereſt ſo well, that they live in a very good underſtanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the *Canton of Lucern*, where there is a ſprit in the Government very different from what is in moſt of the other *Popish Cantons*: the reſidence of the *Spanish Ambaſſador*, and of the *Nuntio*, in that Town, contributes alſo much to the preſerving it in ſo good a temper, it being their intereſt to unite *Switzerland*, and by this means the heat and indiſcretion of the reſt is often moderated: The *Jeſuits* begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland* as they are elſewhere: they have a noble *Colledge* and *Chappel* ſituated in the beſt place of *Friburg*. It is not long ſince they were received at *Soloturn*, where there was a revenue of 1000 *Livres* a year, ſet off for the

main-

maintenance of ten of them, with this proviſion, that they ſhould never exceed that number; but where they are once ſettled, they find means to break through all Limitations, and they are now become ſo rich there, that they are raiſing a *Church* and *Colledge*, which will coſt before it is finiſhed above 400000 *Livres*, to which the *French King* gives 10000 *Livres* for the frontiſpiece: For this being the *Canton* in which his *Ambaſſador* reſides, he thought it ſuteable to his glory, to have a monument of his bounty raiſed by an order, that will never be wanting to flatter their benefactors, as long as they find their account in it.

In the ſame *Canton* there is an *Abbey* that has 100000 *Livres* of revenue; there is alſo a very rich Houſe of *Nuns*, that wear the *Capuchins* Habit, that as I was told had 60000 *Livres* of revenue, and but 60 *Nuns* in it, who having thus 1000 *Livres* apiece, may live in all poſſible plenty in a Countrey where a very little mony goes a great way: But that which ſurpriſes one moſt at *Soleturn*, is, the great Fortification that they are building of a Wall about the Town, the nobleſt and ſolideſt that is any where to be ſeen; the Stone with which it is faced, is a ſort of courſe Marble, but of that bigneſs, that many Stones are 10 foot long, and two foot of breadth and thickneſs: But tho this will be a work of vaſt Expence and great Beauty, yet it would ſignifie little againſt a great Army that would attack it vigorouſly. The *Wall* is finiſhed on the ſide of the *River* on which the Town

ſtands

ſtands, the *Ditch* is very broad, and the *Counterſcarp* and *Glacis* are alſo finiſhed, and they are working at a Fort on the other ſide of the River, which they intend to fortify in the ſame manner. This has coſt them near two millions of *Livres*, and this vaſt expence has made them often repent the undertaking; and it is certain, that a fortification that is able to reſiſt the rage of their Peaſants in the caſe of a Rebellion, is all that is needful. This *Canton* has two *Advoyers*, as *Bern*, the little *Council* conſiſts of 36, they have 12 *Bailiages* belonging to them, which are very profitable to thoſe that can carry them, they have one *Burſar*, and but one *Banneret*. All the *Cantons* have their *Bailiages*; but if there are diſorders at *Bern* in the choice of their *Bailifs*, there are far greater among the *Popiſh Cantons*, where all things are ſold, as a *forreign Miniſter* that reſides there told me, who tho he knew what my *Religion* was, did not ſtick to own franckly to me, that the *Catholick Cantons* were not near ſo well governed as the *Proteſtant-Cantons*. Juſtice is generally ſold among them, and in their Treaties with forreign Princes, they have ſometimes taken mony both from the *French* and *Spaniſh Ambaſſadors*, and have ſigned contradictory *Articles* at the ſame time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient ſituation, which makes it the ſeat of the *general Dyet* of the *Cantons*, tho it is not one of them, but is a *Bailiage* that belongs in common to *eight* of the ancient Can-

Cantons. At laſt I came to this place, which as it is the firſt and moſt honourable of all the *Cantons*, ſo with relation to us, it has a precedence of a higher nature, it being the *firſt* that received the *Reformation*.

This *Canton* is much leſs than *Bern*, yet the publick is much richer: they reckon that they can bring 50000. Men together upon 24. hours warning, their ſubjects live happy: for the *Bailifs* here have regulated appointments, and have only the *hundred Penny* of the fines, ſo that they are not tempted as thoſe of *Bern* are, to whom the Fine belongs entirely, to ſtrain matters againſt their Subjects: and whereas at *Bern* the conſtant intrigue of the whole *Town* is concerning their *Bailiages*; here on the contrary, it is a ſervice to which the *Citizens* are bound to ſubmit according to their Conſtitution, but to which they do not aſpire. The *Government* is almoſt the ſame as at *Bern*, and the *Magiſtrate* that is called the *Advoyer* at *Bern*, is here called the *Bourgomaſter*. The revenue of the *State* is here juſtly accounted for, ſo that the publick Purſe is much richer than at *Bern*; the *Arſenal* is much better furniſhed, and the Fortifications are more regular. There is a great trade ſtirring here; and as their *Lake*, that is 24. miles long, and about two or three Broad, ſupplies them well with proviſions, ſo their *River* carries their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they pleaſe. One of their Chief Manufacturies is *Crape*, which is in all reſpects the beſt I ever ſaw. I will not deſcribe

the

the ſituation of the *Town*, but ſhall content my ſelf to tell you, that it is extream pleaſant; the *Countrey* about it is *Mountanous*, and the *Winters* are hard; for the *Lake* freezes quite over, only in ſome places the Ice never lies, which is believed a mark that ſome *Springs* riſe there, which cauſe that heat; ſo alſo in the *Lake* of *Geneva*, tho it is never quite frozen, yet great flakes of Ice lie in ſeveral parts; but theſe are never ſeen in ſome parts of the *Lake*, which is ſuppoſed to flow from the ſame cauſe.

But to return to *Zurich*; one ſees here the true ancient Simplicity of the *Switſers*, not corrupted ~~which~~ with Luxury or Vanity; their Women not only do not converſe familiarly with men, except thoſe of their near kindred, but even on the Streets do not make any returns to the Civility of Strangers; for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women; but they make no Courteſies: and here, as in all *Switzerland*, Women are not ſaluted, but the civility is expreſſed by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing ſingular in the conſtitution of *Zurich*, that is their *little Council* conſiſts of 50 perſons, but there ſit in it only 25 at a time, and ſo the *two halves* of this *Council*, as each of them has his proper *Bourgomaſter*, have alſo the *Government* in their Hands by turns, and they ſhift every ſix months, at *Mid-ſummer* and at *Chriſt-Maſs*. The whole *Canton* is divided into nine great *Bailiages*, and 21 *Caſtellaneries*; in the former the *Bailif* reſides conſtantly; but the *Caſtellan*, who is alſo one of the *great* Coun-

Council, has ſo little to do, that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at ſome ſet times of the year to do juſtice.

The vertue of this *Canton* has appeared ſignally in their adhering firmly to the antient Capitulations with the *French*, and not ſlackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other *Cantons*, where mony has a Soveraign influence: but here it has never prevailed. They have converted the ancient *Revenues* of the *Church* more generally to pious Uſes, than has been done any where elſe, that I know of. They have many *Hoſpitals* well entertained; in one, as I was told, there was 650 *poor* kept: but as they ſupport the real Charities, which belong to ſuch endowments, ſo they deſpiſe that vain Magnificence of Buildings, which is too generally affected elſewhere; for theirs are very plain, and *one of the Government* there ſaid to me very ſenſibly, *That they thought it enough to maintain their Poor as Poor; and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.*

The *Dean* and *Chapter* are likewiſe ſtill continued as a corporation, and enjoy the *revenues* which they had before the *Reformation*; but if they ſubſiſt plentifully, they labour hard; for they have generally two or three Sermons a day, and at leaſt one: the firſt begins at five a clock in the morning. At *Geneva*, and all *Switſerland* over, there are daily Sermons, which were ſubſtituted upon the *Reformation* from the Maſs. But the Sermons are generally too long, and the

the Preachers have departed from the firſt deſign of theſe Sermons, which were intended to be an explication of a whole Chapter, and an exhortation upon it; and if this were ſo contrived, that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the People with leſs Wearineſs and more profit, ſo it would be a vaſt Advantage to the Preachers; For as it would oblige them to ſtudy the Scriptures much, ſo having once made themſelves Maſters of the practical parts of the Scripture, ſuch ſhort and ſimple Diſcourſes would coſt them leſs pains, than thoſe more laboured Sermons do, which conſume the greateſt part of their time, and too often to very little purpoſe.

Among the *Archives* of the *Dean* and *Chapter*, there is a vaſt Collection of *Letters*, written either to *Bullinger*, or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many *Volums in Folio*, and out of theſe no doubt but one might diſcover a great many particulars relating to the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*: For as *Bullinger* lived long, ſo he was much eſteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to ſome of our *Engliſh Exiles* in *Queen Maries* Reign, in particular to *Sands*, afterwards *Arch-Biſhop of York*; to *Horn*, afterwards *Biſhop of Wincheſter*; and to *Jewel*, *Biſhop of Salisbury*. He gave them lodgings in the *Cloſe*, and uſed them with all poſſible kindneſs; and as they preſented ſome *Silver-Cups* to the *Colledge*, with an Inſcription, acknowledging the kind Reception they had found

found there, which I ſaw, ſo they continued to keep a conſtant Correſpondence with *Bullinger*, after the happy re-eſtabliſhment of the *Reformation* under *Queen Eliſabeth*: Of which I read almoſt a *whole Volume* while I was there: Moſt of them contain only the general news, but ſome were more important, and relate to the Diſputes then on foot, concerning the *Habits of the Clergy*, which gave the firſt beginnings to our unhappy Diviſions: and by the *Letters*, of which I read the *Originals*, it appears, that the *Biſhops* preſerved the ancient *Habits* rather in compliance with the *Queens* inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; ſo far they were from liking them, that they plainly expreſt their diſlike of them. *Jewel*, in a *Letter* bearing date the 8. of *February* 1566. wiſhes, *that the Veſtments, together with all the other Remnants of Popery, might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the People*, and laments the *Queens* fixedneſs to them, ſo that ſhe would ſuffer no change to be made. And, in *January* of the ſame year, *Sands* writes to the ſame purpoſe. *Contenditur de veſtibus Papiſticis utendis vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quoque finem. Diſputes are now on foot concerning the* Popiſh Veſtments, *whether they ſhould be uſed or not; but God will put an end to thoſe things.* *Horn*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, went further; For in a *Letter*, dated the 16th of *July*, 1565. He writes of the *Act* concerning the *Habits*, with great regret, and expreſſes ſome hopes

that it might be *repealed* next *Seſſion of Parliament*, if the *Popiſh Party* did not hinder it; and he ſeems to ſtand in doubt, whether he ſhould conform himſelf to it or not; upon which he deſires *Bullingers* Advice. And in many *Letters* writ on that ſubject, it is aſſerted, that both *Cranmer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an *Act* for aboliſhing the *Habits*, and that they only defended their *Lawfulneſs*, but not their *Fitneſs*; and therefore they blamed private Perſons that refuſed to obey the Laws. *Grindal* in a Letter dated the 27th of *Auguſt*, 1566. writes, That all the *Biſhops*, who had been beyond Sea, had at their return dealt with the *Queen* to let the matter of the *Habits* fall: but ſhe was ſo prepoſſeſſed, that tho they had all endeavoured to divert her from proſecuting that matter, ſhe continued ſtill inflexible. This had made them reſolve to ſubmit to the *Laws*, and to wait for a fit opportunity to *reverſe them*. He laments the ill effects of the oppoſition that ſome had made to them, which had extreamly irritated the *Queens* Spirit, ſo that *She* was now much more heated in thoſe matters than formerly; he alſo thanks *Bullinger* for the *Letter* that he had writ, juſtifying the *Lawful uſe* of the *Habits*, which he ſays had done great ſervice. *Cox*, Biſhop of *Ely*, in one of his *Letters*, laments the averſion that they found in the *Parliament* to all the *Propoſitions* that were made for the Reformation of Abuſes. *Iewel*, in a Letter dated the 22th of *May* 1559. writes, That the *Queen* refuſed to be called *Head of the Church*, and adds,

adds, That that *Title* could not be juſtly given to any mortal, it being due only to *Chriſt*; and that ſuch Titles had been ſo much abuſed by *Antichriſt*, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all theſe *Paſſages* I will make no reflections here: For I ſet them down only to ſhew what was the ſenſe of our Chief *Church-men* at that time concerning thoſe matters, which have ſince engaged us into ſuch warm and angry Diſputes; and this may be no inconſiderable inſtruction to one, that intends to write the *Hiſtory* of that time. The laſt particular, with which I intend to end this *Letter*, might ſeem a little too learned, if I were writing to a leſs knowing Man than your ſelf.

I have taken ſome pains in my *travels* to examin all the Antient *Manuſcripts* of the *New Teſtament*, concerning that doubted paſſage of St. *Johns* Epiſtle, *There are three that bear witneſs in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and theſe three are one.* *Bullinger* doubted much of it, becauſe he found it not in an antient *Latin* Manuſcript at *Zurich*, which ſeems to be about 800. *years* old: For it is written in that *hand* that began to be uſed in *Charles the Great's* time. I turned the *Manuſcript*, and found the paſſage was not there; but this was certainly the errour or omiſſion of the Coppier: For before the *General Epiſtles* in that Manuſcript, the *Preface of St. Jerome* is to be found, in which he ſayes, that he was the more exact in that *Tranſlation*, that ſo he might diſcover the

fraud of the *Arrians*, who had ſtruck out that paſſage concerning the *Trinity*. This *Preface* is printed in *Lira's Bible*: but how it came to be left out by *Eraſmus* in his Edition of that Father's works, is that of which I can give no account: For as on the one hand, *Eraſmus*'s ſincerity ought not to be too raſhly cenſured; ſo on the other hand, that *Preface* being in all the *Manuſcripts* Antient or Modern of thoſe *Bibles* that have the other *Prefaces* in them, that I ever yet ſaw, it is not eaſy to imagin what made *Eraſmus* not to publiſh it; and it is in the Manuſcript Bibles at *Baſil*, where he printed his Edition of *S. Jeromes Works*. In the old Manuſcript *Bible* of *Geneva*, that ſeems to be above 700. *years* old, both the *Preface* and the *Paſſage* are extant, but with this difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions ſet the Verſe concerning *the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of *the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit*; which comes after it in this Copy: And that I may in this place end all the Readings I found of this paſſage in my Travels, there is a Manuſcript in St. *Mark's* Library in *Venice* in three Languages, *Greek, Latin*, and *Arabick*, that ſeems not above 400. *years* old, in which this paſſage is not in the *Greek*, but it is in the *Latin* ſet after the other three, with a *ſicut* to joyn it to what goes before. And in a Manuſcript *Latin Bible* in the Library of *St. Laurence* at *Florence*, both *St. Jeromes Preface* and this *Paſſage* are extant: but this *Paſſage* comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *ſicut*, as is that of *Venice*: yet

ſicut

ſicut is not in the *Geneva* Manuſcript. There are two *Greek* Manuſcripts of the *Epiſtles* at *Baſil*, that ſeem to be about 500. years old, in neither of which this paſſage is to be found: they have alſo an Ancient *Latin Bible*, which is about 800. years old, in which tho *St. Jerom's Prologue* is inſerted, yet this *Paſſage* is wanting. At *Stratburg* I ſaw four very Ancient Manuſcripts of the *New Teſtament* in Latin: three of theſe ſeemed to be about the time of *Charles the Great*, but the fourth ſeemed to be much antienter, and may belong to the ſeventh *Century*: in it neither the *Prologue* nor the Place is extant: but it is added at the foot of the page with another hand. In two of the other, the *Prologue* is extant, but the Place is not: only in one of them it is added on the Margin. In the fourth, as the *Prologue* is extant, ſo is the *Place* likewiſe, but it comes after the verſe of the other three, and is joyned to it thus, *Sicut tres ſunt in cœlo.*

It ſeem'd ſtrange to me, and it is almoſt incredible, that in the *Vatican Library* there are no Antient *Latin Bibles*, where above all other places they ought to be lookt for: but I ſaw none above 400. *years* old. There is indeed the famous *Greek Manuſcript* of great value, which the Chanoine *Shelſtrat*, that was Library-keeper, aſſerted to be 1400. *years* old, and proved it by the great ſimilitude of the *Characters* with thoſe that are upon *S. Hippolites Statue*, which is ſo evident, that if his Statue was made about his time, the antiquity of this *Manuſcript* is not to be diſputed.

If the *Characters* are not ſo fair, and have not all the marks of *Antiquity* that appears in the *Kings* Manuſcript at *S. James's*, yet this has been much better preſerved, and is much more entire. The *Paſſage* that has led me into this digreſſion, is not to be found in the *Vatican Manuſcript*, no more than it is in the *Kings Manuſcript*. And with this I will finiſh my account of *Zurich*. The *publick Library* is very noble: the Hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived; there is a very handſome *Cabinet of Medals*, and ſo I will break off; but when I have gone ſo much farther that I have gathered *Materials* for another *Letter* of this Volume, you may look for a ſecond entertainment, ſuch as it is from

Your &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I told you, that in *Bern* the *Bailiages* are given by a ſort of a *Ballot*, which is ſo managed, that no mans *Vote* is known: but I muſt now add, that ſince I was firſt there, they have made a conſiderable regulation in the way of *Voting*, when Offices are to be given, which approaches much nearer the *Venetian* method, and which expoſes the competitors more to chance, and by conſequence may put an end to the Intrigues, that are ſo much in uſe for obtaining thoſe Imployments. There is a number of *Balls* put into a *Box*, equal to the number of thoſe that have right to *vote*, and that are preſent; of theſe the third part is *guilt*, and two parts are only *ſilvered*, ſo every one takes out a *ball*; but none

none can *vote* except thoſe who have the *guilt balls*; ſo that hereafter a man may have more than two thirds ſure, and yet be caſt in a competition.

There is one thing for which the *Switzers*, in particular thoſe of *Bern*, cannot be enough commended, they have ever ſince the *Perſecution* began firſt in *France*, opened a *Sanctuary* to ſuch as have retired thither, in ſo generous and ſo *Chriſtian* a manner, that it deſerves all the honourable *Remembrances* that can be made of it: ſuch *Miniſters* and others, that were at firſt condemned in *France*, for the affair of the *Cevennes*, have not only found a kind Reception here, but all the Support that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in reaſon expected. For they have aſſigned the *French Miniſters* a penſion of *five Crowns* a month, if they were unmarried, and have increaſed it to ſuch as had Wife and Children, ſo that ſome had above *ten Crowns* a month penſion. They diſperſed them over all the *Païs de Vaud*: but the greateſt number ſtaid at *Lauſanne* and *Vevay*. In order to the ſupporting of this charge, the Charities of *Zurich*, and the other neighbouring *Proteſtant States*, were brought hither. Not only the *Proteſtant Cantons*, but the *Griſons*, and ſome ſmall *States*, that are under the protection of the *Cantons*, ſuch as *Neufchaſtel*, S. *Gall* and ſome others, have ſent in their Charities to *Bern*, who diſpence them with great diſcretion, and bear what further charge this Relief brings upon them; and in this laſt total and deplorable diſ-

perſion of thoſe *Churches*, the whole *Countrey* has been animated with ſuch a Spirit of Charity and Compaſſion, that every Mans houſe and purſe has been opened to the *Refugies*, that have paſſed thither in ſuch numbers, that ſometimes there have been above 2000. in *Lauſanne* alone, and of theſe there were at one time near 200. *Miniſters*, and they all met with a Kindneſs and Freeheartedneſs, that lookt more like ſomewhat of the *primitive Age* revived, than the Degeneracy of the *Age* in which we live.

I ſhall Conclude this *Poſtſcript*, which is already ſwelled to the bigneſs of a *Letter*, with a ſad Inſtance of the Anger and heat that riſes among *Divines* concerning Matters of very ſmall conſequence.

The midle way that *Amirald*, *Daille*, and ſome others in *France* took in the matters that were diſputed in *Holland*, concerning the Divine Decrees, and the extent of the Death of Chriſt, as it came to be generally followed in *France*, ſo it had ſome Aſſertors both in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, who denied the *Imputation* of *Adams ſin*, and aſſerted the *Univerſality of Chriſt's death*, together with a *ſufficient Grace given to all men*, aſſerting with this a particular and free Decree of Election, with an efficacious Grace for thoſe included in it: theſe came to be called Univerſaliſts, and began to grow very conſiderable in *Geneva*: two of the *Profeſſors of Divinity* there being known to favour thoſe *Opinions*. Upon this, thoſe who adhered ſtrictly to the oppoſit *Doctrine*, were inflamed, and the Contention grew to

that

that height, that almoſt the whole *Town* came to be concerned, and all were divided into parties. If upon this, the *Magiſtrates* had enjoyned ſilence to both parties, they had certainly acted wiſely: for theſe are *ſpeculations* ſo little certain, and ſo little eſſential to *Religion*, that a Diverſity of Opinions ought not to be made the occaſion of Heat or Faction. But tho the *party* of the *Univerſaliſts* was conſiderable in *Geneva*, it was very ſmall in *Switzerland*, therefore ſome *Divines* there, that adhered to the old received Doctrine, drew up ſome *Articles*, in which all theſe Doctrines were not only condemned, together with ſome Speculations, that were aſſerted concerning *Adams Immortality*, and other qualities belonging to the ſtate of Innocency; but becauſe *Capel* and ſome other *Criticks* had not only aſſerted the novelty of the points, but had taken the liberty to correct the reading of the *Hebrew*, ſuppoſing that ſome errors had been committed by the *Coppiers* of the *Bible*, both in the *Vowels* and *Conſonants*, in oppoſition to this, they condemned all corrections of the *Hebrew Bible*, and aſſerted the Antiquity of the *Points*, or at leaſt of the power and reading according to them; by which, tho they did not engage all to be of *Buxtorf's* opinion, as to the Antiquity of the points, yet they ſhut the door againſt all Corrections of the preſent *Punctuation*: If this conſent of *Doctrine* (for ſo they termed it) had been made only the Standard, againſt which no man might have taught, without

incurring cenſures, the ſeverity had been more tolerable: but they obliged all ſuch as ſhould be admitted either to the *Miniſtry*, or to a *Profeſſors* Chair, to ſign *ſic ſentio*, ſo I think; and this being ſo ſetled at *Bern* and *Zurich*, it was alſo carried by their authority at *Geneva*: but for thoſe in office, the *Moderator* aud *Clerk* ſigned it in all their names: and thus they were not contented to make only a Regulation in thoſe Matters, but they would needs, according to a maxim that hath been ſo often fatal to the *Church*, enter into peoples Conſciences, and either ſhut out Young Men from Imployments, or impoſe a *Teſt* upon them, which perhaps ſome have ſigned not without Struglings in their Conſcience. Yet ſome that ſet on this *Teſt* or Conſent, are men of ſuch extraordinary Worth, that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a ſincere zeal, for that which they believe to be the Truth: only I wiſh they had larger and freer Souls.

The only conſiderable *Tax* under which the *Switzers* lie, is, that when *Eſtates* are ſold, the *fifth* part of the price belongs to the Publick, and all the Abatement that the *Bailif* can make, is to bring it to a *ſixth* part; this they call the *Lod*, which is derived from *Alodium*: only there are ſome Lands that are *Frank-alod*, which lie not under this *Tax*: but this falling only on the *Sellers* of *Eſtates*, it was thought a juſt Puniſhment, and a wiſe Reſtraint on ill Husbands of their Eſtates.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have given

given you of the derivation of *Advoyer*, when I found that in ſome ſmall *Towns* in the *Canton* of *Bern*, the chief *Magiſtrate* is ſtill ſo called: as in *Payerne*; ſo that I make no doubt, but as the Antient Magiſtrates in the time of the *Romans*, that were to give an account of the Town, were called *Advocates*, and afterwards the *Judge* in Civil Matters, that was named by the *Biſhops*, was called at firſt *Advocat*, and afterwards *Vidam* or *Vicedominus*; ſo this was the *Title* that was ſtill continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Auſtrian* and *German* yoke, and was preſerved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps toucht too ſlightly the laſt Difference that was in *Switzerland*, which related to the *Canton* of *Glaris*. In the *Canton* of *Apenzell*, as the two *Religions* are tolerated, ſo they are ſeparated in different quarters; thoſe of one *Religion* have the one half of the *Canton*, and thoſe of the other *Religion* have the other half, ſo they live apart: but in *Glaris* they are mixt: and now the number of the *Papiſts* is become very low; one aſſured me, there were not above 200 *Families* of that *Religion*, and thoſe are alſo ſo poor, that their neceſſities diſpoſe ſome of them every day to *change* their Religion. The other *Popiſh Cantons*, ſeeing the danger of loſing their intereſt entirely in that *Canton*, and being ſet on by the intrigues of a *Court*, that has underſtood well the policy of imbroiling all other *States*, made great uſe of ſome complaints that were brought by the *Papiſts* of *Glaris*, as if the prevai-

vailing of the other *Religion* expoſed them to much injuſtice and oppreſſion; and upon that they propoſed, that the *Canton* ſhould be equally divided into two halves, as *Appenzel* was: this was extreamly unjuſt, ſince the *Papiſts* were not the tenth, or perhaps the twentieth part of the *Canton*. It is true, it was ſo ſituated in the midſt of the *Popish Cantons*, that the *Proteſtant Cantons* could not eaſily come to their aſſiſtance: but thoſe of *Glaris* reſolved to dye rather than ſuffer this injuſtice, and the *Proteſtant Cantons* reſolved to engage in a *war* with the *Popish Cantons*, if they impoſed this matter on their Brethren of *Glaris*: at laſt this temper was found, that in all ſuits of law between thoſe of different *Religions*, two *thirds* of the *Judges* ſhould be alwayes of the *Religion* of the defendant; but while this Conteſt was on foot, thoſe, who as is believed, fomented it, if they did not ſet it on, knew how to make their Advantage of the Conjuncture; for then was the *Fortification* of *Hunningen* at the Ports of *Baſil* much advanced, of the importance of which, they are now very apprehenſive when it is too late. There are ſix *Noble Families* in *Bern*, that have ſtill this priviledge, that when any of them is choſen to be of the *Council*, they take place before all the Ancient Councellors, whereas all the reſt take place according to the Order in which they were choſen to be of the *Council*.

THE

THE SECOND LETTER.

Millan, the firſt of *October*, 1685.

AFTER a ſhort ſtay at *Zurich*, we went down the *Lake*, where we paſt under the *Bridge* at *Ripperſwood*, which is a very noble Work for ſuch a Countrey; the *Lake* is there about half a mile broad, the *bridge* is about twelve foot broad, but hath no Rails on either ſide, ſo that if the wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a man is in great danger of being blown into the *Lakes*: and this ſame defect I found in almoſt all the *Bridges* of *Lombardy*, which ſeemed very ſtrange; for ſince that Defence is made upon ſo ſmall an Expence, it was amazing to ſee Bridges ſo naked: and that was more ſurprizing in ſome places, where the Bridges are both high and long: yet I never heard of any miſchief that followed on this; but thoſe are ſober *Countrys*, where drinking is not much in uſe. After two dayes journey, we came to *Coire*, which is the chief *Town* of the *Griſons*, and where we found a general *Diet* of the *three Leagues* ſitting, ſo that having ſtaid ten dayes there, I came to

be informed of a great many particulars concerning thoſe *Leagues*, which are not commonly known: The *Town* is but little, and may contain between four and five thouſand Souls; it lies in a bottom, upon a ſmall brook, that a little below the Town falls into the *Rhine*. It is environed with *Mountains* of all hands, ſo that they have a very ſhort *Summer*; for the *Snow* is not melted till *May* or *June*; and it began to Snow in *September* when I was there. On a riſing ground at the Eaſt end of the *Town* is the *Cathedral*, the *Biſhops Pallace*, and the *Cloſe*, where the *Dean* and ſix *Prebendaries* live; all within the *Cloſe* are *Papiſts*, but all the Town are *Proteſtants*, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a mile high in the Hill, one goes up by a ſteep aſcent to *Saint Lucius* Chappel; My curioſity carried me thither: Tho I gave no faith to the legend of *King Lucius*, and of his coming ſo far from home to be the *Apoſtle* of the *Griſons*. His *Chappel* is a little Vault about ten foot ſquare, where there is an *Altar*, and where *Maſs* is ſaid upon ſome great *Feſtivals*; it is ſituated under a natural *Arch* that is in the *Rock*, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the *Cell* of a *Hermit*: from it ſome drops of a ſmall *Fountain* fall down near the Chappel; the *Biſhop* aſſured me it had a miraculous vertue for weak-eyes, and that it was Oily; but neither taſte nor feeling could diſcover to me any Oilyneſs: I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock-

Water

Water is; but when I offered to ſhew the good old *Biſhop*, that the legend of *Lucius* was a *Fable* in all the parts of it, but moſt remarkably in that which related to the *Griſons*, and that we had no *Kings* in *Brittain* at that time, but were a *Province* to the *Romans*, that no ancient *Authors* ſpeak of it, *Bede* being the firſt that mentions it; and that the pretended *Letter* to *Pope Eleutherius*, together with his anſwer, has evident characters of Forgery in it, all this ſignified nothing to the *Biſhop*, who aſſured me, that they had a *Tradition* of that in their *Church*; and it was inſerted in their *Breviary*, which he firmly believed: he alſo told me the other legend of *King Lucius*'s ſiſter S. *Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whoſe *Veil* there was yet a conſiderable remnant reſerved among their *Reliques*: I confeſs, I never ſaw a *Relique* ſo ill diſguiſed; for it is a piece of worn Linnen Cloath lately waſht, and the burning did not ſeem to be a month old; and yet when they took it out of the Caſe, to ſhew it me, there were ſome there that with great devotion rub'd their beads upon it. The *Biſhop* had ſome conteſts with his *Dean*, and being a *Prince* of the *Empire*, he had proſcribed him: the *Dean* had alſo behaved himſelf ſo inſolently, that by an order of the *Diet*, to which even the *Biſhop*, as was believed, conſented, he was put in Priſon as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common conſent both of the *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant* Communities, a *Law* was long ago made againſt

againſt *Eccleſiaſtical Immunities*: this attempt on the *Dean* was made four years ago; as ſoon as he was let out he went to *Rome*, and made great complaints of the *Biſhop*, and it was thought the *Popiſh party* intended to move in the *Diet* while we were there for the repealing of that *Law*, but they did it not. The foundation of the Quarrel between the *Biſhop* and *Dean* was the *Exemptions* to which the *Dean* and *Chapter* pretended, and upon which the *Biſhop* made ſome Invaſion: Upon which I took occaſion to ſhew him the novelty of thoſe Exemptions, and that in the primitive *Church* it was believed, that the *Biſhop* had the Authority over his *Preſbyters* by a divine right; and if it was by a Divine Right, then the *Pope* could not exempt them from his obedience: but the *Biſhop* would not carry the matter ſo high, and contented himſelf with two maxims; the one was, That the *Biſhop* was Chriſt's *Vicar* in his *Dioceſs*; and the other was, That what the *Pope* was in the *Catholick Church*, the *Biſhop* was the ſame in his *Dioceſs*.

He was a good-natured Man, and did not make uſe of the great Authority that he has over the *Papiſts* there, to ſet them on to live uneaſily with their neighbours of another *Religion*. That *Biſhop* was antiently a great Prince; and the greateſt part of the *League*, that carries ſtill the name of the *Houſe of God*, belonged to him, tho I was aſſured that *Pregallia*, one of thoſe *Communities*, was a *free State* above ſix hundred *years* ago, and

that

that they have Records yet extant that prove this: The other *Communities* of this *League* bought their liberties from ſeveral *Bishops* ſome conſiderable time before the *Reformation*, of which the *Deeds* are yet extant; ſo that it is an impudent thing to ſay as ſome have done, that they ſhook off his Yoke at that time.

The *Bishop* hath yet reſerved a *Revenue* of about one *thouſand pound Sterling* a Year, and every one of the *Prebendaries* hath near two *hundred pound* a Year. It is not eaſie to imagin out of what the Riches of this *Country* is raiſed; for one ſees nothing but a tract of vaſt *Mountains*, that ſeem barren *Rocks*, and ſome little *Vallies* among them not a mile broad, and the beſt part of theſe is waſhed away by the *Rhine*, and ſome Brooks that fall into it: but their wealth conſiſts chiefly in their Hills, which afford much paſture; and in the hot months, in which all the Paſture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into theſe Hills, which brings them in a Revenue of above two *hundred thouſand Crowns* a Year. The Publick is indeed very poor, but particular perſons are ſo rich, that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have *Eſtates* to the value of one *hundred thouſand Crowns*. Mr. *Schoveſtein*, that is accounted the richeſt man in the Country, is believed to be worth a *Million*, I mean of *Livres*. The *Government* here is purely a *Commonwealth*; for in the choice of their *Magiſtrates*, every man that is

above ſixteen *Years* old hath his *Voice*, which is alſo the conſtitution of ſome of the ſmall *Cantons*. The *Three Leagues* are, the League of the *Griſons*, that of the *Houſe of God*, and that of the ten *Juriſdictions*.

They believe, that upon the incurſions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as ſome fled to the *Venetian Iſlands*, out of which aroſe that famous *Common-wealth*; ſo others came and ſheltred themſelves in thoſe Valleys. They told me of an ancient inſcription lately found, of a Stone where on the one ſide is graven, *Omitto Rhetos Indomitos*, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by *Julius Cæſar*: the *Stone* on which this inſcription is, is upon one of their *Mountains*; but I did not paſs that way, ſo I can make no judgment concerning it. After the firſt forming of this people, they were caſt into little *States*, according to the different Valleys which they inhabited, and in which Juſtice was adminiſtred, and ſo they fell under the power of ſome little *Princes*, that became ſevere Maſters; but when they ſaw the Example that the *Switzers* had ſet them, in ſhaking off the *Auſtrian* Yoke, above two hundred *years* ago, they likewiſe combined to ſhake off theirs; only ſome few of thoſe ſmall *Princes* uſed their authority better, and concurred with the people in ſhaking off the Yoke, and ſo they are ſtill parts of the Body; only *Haldenſtein* is an abſolute Soveranity; it is about two miles from *Coire* to the Weſt, on the other ſide of the *Rhine*; the whole Territory is about half a mile long at the foot

foot of the *Alps*, where there is ſcarce any breadth. The authority of theſe *Barons* was formerly more abſolute than it is now; for the Subjects were their Slaves: but to keep together the little *Village*, they have granted them a power of naming a liſt for their *Magiſtrates*, the perſon being to be named by the *Baron*; who hath alſo the Right of Pardoning, a Right of Coyning, and every thing alſo that belongs to a Soveraign. I ſaw this little *Prince* in *Coire*, in an Equipage not ſuitable to his Quality; for he was in all points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other *Baronies* that are Members of the *Diet*, and ſubject to it; the chief belonged to the *Arch-Dukes* of *Inchpruck*; the other two belong to Mr. *Schovenſtain* and Mr. *de Mont*, they are the Heads of thoſe *Communities* of which their *Baronies* are compoſed; they name the *Magiſtrates* out of the liſts that are preſented to them by their *Subjects*; & they have the right of pardoning & of confiſcations: That belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria* is the biggeſt, it hath *five* voices in the *Diet*, and it can raiſe twelve *hundred* Men. One *Travers* bought it of the *Emperor* in the year 1679. he entred upon the Rights of the ancient *Barons*, which were ſpecified in an agreement that paſt between him and his *Peaſants*, and was confirmed by the *Emperour*. *Travers* made many incroachments upon the Priviledges of his *Subjects*, who upon that made their Complaints to the *League*; but *Travers* would have the matter judged at *Inchpruck*, and the *Emperor* ſupported him in this Preten-

ſion, and ſent an *Agent* to the *Diet*: I was preſent, when he had his *Audience*, in which there was nothing but *General Complements*: But the *Diet* ſtood firm to their Conſtitution, and aſſerted, that the *Emperour* had no Authority to judge in that Matter, which belonged only to them; ſo *Travers* was forced to let his Pretentions fall.

All the other Parts of this *State* are purely *Democratical*; there are *three* different *Bodies* or *Leagues*, and every one of theſe are an intire *Government*; and the Aſſembly or *Diet* of the *Three Leagues*, in only a Confederacy, like the *United Provinces*, or the *Cantons*: There are *ſixty-ſeven Voices* in the General *Diet*, which are thus divided: The *League* of the *Griſons* hath *twenty-eight* Voices, that of the *Houſe of God* hath *twenty-four*, and that of the *Jurisdictions* hath *fifteen*. The *Juriſdictions* belonged anciently to the *Houſe of Auſtria*: but they having ſhaken off that Authority, were incorporated into the *Diet*: but in the laſt Wars of *Germany*, the *Auſtrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke, yet they defended their Liberty with ſo much Vigour, that the *Auſtrians* it ſeems thought the conqueſt not worth the while, and that it would not quit the coſt. They were affrighted by two extraordinary Actions; in one *Village*, which was quite abandoned by all the *Men* belonging to it, who left the *Women* in it, ſome hundreds, as I was told, there quartered, and were apprehenſive of no danger from their *Hoſteſſes*; but the *Women* intend-

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ed to let their Husbands ſee, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action; tho it muſt be confeſt, it was a little too rough and Barbarous for the *Sex*: They entred into a Combination to cut the Throats of all the *Souldiers* at one time; the *Woman* that propoſed this, had four lodged with her, and ſhe with her own Hands diſpatcht them all, and ſo did all the reſt, not one *Souldier* eſcaping to carry away the News of ſo unheard of a Rage. In another Place, a Body of the *Auſtrians* came into a *Valley*, that was quite abandoned; for the *Men* that had no *Arms* but their *Clubs* and *Staves*, had got up to the *Mountains*; but they took their Meaſures ſo well, and poſſeſſed themſelves ſo of the Paſſes, that they came down upon the *Souldiers* with ſo much Fury, that they defeated them quite, ſo that very few eſcaped; and it is certain, that the Subduing them would have proved a very hard Work. It is true, they are not in a Condition to hold out long, the Publick is ſo poor; ſo that tho particular Perſons are extream rich, yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preſerve his Liberty, which is more intire here, than it is even in *Switzerland*: but this ſwells often too much, and throws them into great Convulſions. The *League* of the *Griſons* is the firſt and moſt ancient, and it is compoſed of *eight and twenty Cummunities*, of which there are *eighteen Papiſts*, and the reſt are *Proteſtants*; the *Communities* of the two *Religions* live neighbourly together, yet they do not ſuffer thoſe of another *Reli-*

gion to live among them, ſo that every *Community* is entirely of the ſame *Religion*; and if any one changes, he muſt go into another *Community*. Each *Community* is an intire *State* within it ſelf, and all Perſons muſt meet once a *year* to chuſe the *Judge* and his *Aſſiſtants*, whom they change, or continue from *year* to *year*, as they ſee cauſe: There is no difference made between *Gentleman* and *Peaſant*, and the *Tenant* hath a *Vote* as well as his *Landlord*, nor dare his *Landlord* uſe him ill when he votes contrary to his intentions; for the *Peaſants* would look upon that as a common Quarrel. An appeal lies from the *Judge* of the Community, to the *Aſſembly* of the *League*, where all matters end; for there lies no appeal to the general *Diet* of the *three Leagues*, except in matters that concern the conquered *Countries*, which belong in common to all the *three*. There is one choſen by the *Deputies* for the *Aſſembly* of the *League*, who is called the *Head of the League*, that can call them together as he ſees cauſe, and can likewiſe bring a cauſe that hath been once judged to a ſecond hearing. *Ilants* is the *Chief Town* of this *League*, where their *Diet* meets. The ſecond *League* is that of *the Houſe of God*, in which there are four and twenty *Communities*; the *Burgomaſter* of *Coire* is always the *Head* of this *League*: This *League* is almoſt wholly *Proteſtant*, and the *two Valleys* of the *Upper* and *Lower Engedin* are pointed out by the *Papiſts*, as little leſs than *Cannibals* towards ſuch *Catholicks* as come among them; but *Frier Sfondrato*, Nephew

phew *to Pope Gregory* the fourteenth, whoſe Mother the *Marqueſs of Bergominiero*, that was in *England*, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true to his great regret. About eighteen *years* ago he was believed to have wrought *Miracles*, and he became ſo much in love with the *Crown of Martyrdom*, that he went through the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there that which he deſired. His *Brother* had come ſometime before into the *Country* to drink Mineral *Waters*, and was well known to the Gentry, ſo ſome of theſe hearing of the *Fryer's* coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertained by them in their Houſes, and conveyed through the Countrey, tho he took all poſſible wayes to provoke them; for he was often railing at their *Religion*, but to all that they made no anſwer, only they continued their Civilities ſtill, which did ſo inrage the warm *Fryer*, that he went to *Bormio*, and there (as was believed) he Dyed of Grief. An Accident fell out *five years* ago, that the People of the Country eſteemed a ſort of a Miracle. The *Papiſts* in their *Proceſſions* go ſometimes out of one *Community* into another, and when they paſs through *Proteſtant Communities*, they lower the *Croſs*, and give over ſinging till they are again upon *Popish* ground: but then they went on bearing up the *Croſs*, and ſinging as they went, upon which the *Proteſtants* ſtopt them, and would not ſuffer them to go on in that manner: they finding that they were not equal in number to the *Proteſtants*, ſent to a *Catholick*

Community, and desired them to come to their Assistance: *Two thousand* came, and by all appearance the Dispute would have had a bloody Issue: for the *Protestants* were resolved to maintain the Rights of their *Community*, and the others were no less resolved to force their Way: but an extraordinary thick mist arose, and through it, the *Papists* fancied they saw a vast Body of Men, which was no other than a Wood: but terrified with the Appearance of such a number, they retired, and this saved a little battel, that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood, but might have very much disordered the whole Constitution and Union of their *Leagues*. The *Papists* of quality endeavour much to keep their People in order; but they acknowledged to my self, that the *Protestants* were much peaceabler than the *Catholicks*. The *Jurisdictions* have fifteen Votes in the General *Diet*, yet they are generally called the *ten Jurisdictions*, and the greater part of them are likewise of the *Religion*; for upon the general Computation of the *three Leagues*, the *Protestants* are about two thirds. In their *Diets* there are *three Tables*, one in the middle, and two on either side; at every *Table* sits the *Head* of the *League*, and a *Secretary* near him; and from the *Table* there goes down Benches on both Hands for the *Deputies* from the *Communities* of that *League*: They hold their *Diets* by turns in the Chief *Towns* of the several *Leagues*, and it hapned to be the turn of the *House of God*, when I was there; so they met at *Coire*.

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The *three Leagues* have a conquered Country in *Italy*, divided into three Diſtricts, the *Valteline*, *Chavennes* and *Bormio*. When *John Galeaſſe* poſſeſſed himſelf of the *Dutchy of Milan*, and drove out *Barnabas*, *Maſtinus* one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given thoſe three Branches of the *Dutchy of Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hoſpitably received and entertained by the *Biſhop*, when he died, he gave his Right to thoſe *Territories* to the *Cathedral of Coire*: but here was a Title without a force able to make it good. But when the *Wars* of *Italy* were on Foot, the *three Leagues* being much courted by both the *Crowns*, ſince they were Maſters of the *Paſſes*, by which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*; they reſolved to lay hold on that Opportunity: yet they had not Zeal enough for their *Biſhop*, to ingage deep upon his Account, ſo they agreed with him to pay him ſuch a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were ſo conſiderable to the *Spaniards*, that without much ado, they yielded thoſe Parcels of the *Dutchy of Milan* to them, and by this means they are poſſeſſed of them. Thoſe Acceſſions to this *State* are much better than the principal; for as certainly the *Valteline*, which is above forty Miles long, and two broad, is one of the *richeſt Valleys* in the World, in which there are three Harveſts ſome *years*; ſo the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the beſt *Valleys* of the *Griſons*; yet the ingagement that people have to their native Homes appears ſignally

here, ſince the *Griſons* have not forſaken their Countrey, that they might ſcituate themſelves ſo advantagiouſly: but they love their rugged *Valleys*, and think the ſafety they injoy in them beyond the pleaſures of their acquired Dominions; ſo they govern them by *Bailifs* and *Podeſta's*, and other Officers whom they ſend among them; and all the advantages that they draw from them, is that the *Magiſtrates* whom they ſend to govern them, do inrich themſelves, as the *Bailifs* in *Switzerland* do. All thoſe *Offices* go round the ſeveral *Communities*, who have the right of nomination in their turn: But if there is none of the *Community* proper for the Imployment, any one of another *Community* may buy of them the Nomination for that turn, and the *Community* diſtribute among them the Money that he gives them. The publick draws nothing out of thoſe parts, except the Fines, which in ſome years amounts to no conſiderable ſum; and ten or twelve thouſand *Crowns* is thought a great deal to be raiſed out of them in a *year*; ſo that their *Subjects* live happy, and free of all *Taxes*, which made their laſt Revolt appear the more extraordinary; and it was indeed the effect of a very ſurpriſing Bigotry, when a people under the gentleſt yoke in the World, who had no other Grievance, but that now and then their *Magiſtrates* were of another *Religion*, and that the *Proteſtant Religion* was tolerated amongſt them, would therefore throw off their *Maſters*, cut the Throats of their Neighbours, and caſt themſelves into the hands of the

Spaniards,

Spaniards, who are the terribleſt Maſters in the World.

But to give a more particular Relation of that matter, and to tell the Circumſtances which ſeem a little to leſſen that *Rebellion* and *Maſſacre*, I muſt give an Account of a part of this Conſtitution that is very Terrible, and which makes the greateſt Men in it to tremble: The *Peaſants* come ſometimes in great Bodies, and demand a *Chamber of Juſtice* from the general *Diet*, and they are bound to grant it alwayes when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty *years*; commonly this tumult of the *Peaſants* is ſet on by ſome of the Male-contented *Gentry*, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This *Court* is compoſed of *ten Judges* out of every *League*, and *twenty Advocates*, who manage ſuch Accuſations as are preſented to them; this *Court* is paramount to *Law*, and Acts like a Court of *Inquiſition*; they give the *Queſtion*, and do every thing that they think neceſſary to diſcover the Truth of ſuch Accuſations as are preſented to them; and the Deciſions of this *Court* can never be brought under a ſecond Review, tho there is an exception to this; for about a hundred *years* ago, one *Court of Juſtice* reverſed all that another had done; but that is a ſingle inſtance. The *Peaſants* are in as great a jealouſie of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*, and the good Men among them are extream ſenſible of a great Diſſolution of Morals that the *Spaniſh* ſervice brings among them: For there

there is a *Griſon Regiment* kept ſtill in pay by the *Spaniards*, there are in it twelve *Companies* of fifty a piece, and the *Captains* have a thouſand *Crowns* pay, tho they are not obliged to attend upon the ſervice: This is upon the matter a Penſion paid under a more decent name to the moſt conſiderable *Men* of the Countrey; and this is ſhared among them without any diſtinction of *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*, and is believed to ſway their *Councils* much. The *Peaſants* are apt to take fire, and to believe they are betrayed by thoſe *Penſioners* of *Spain*; and when Rumors are blown about among them, they come in great numbers to demand a *Chamber of Juſtice*; the common *Queſtion* that they give, which is alſo uſed all *Switzerland* over, and in *Geneva*, is, that they tye the *Hands* of the ſuſpected perſon behind his back, and pull them up to his *Head*, and ſo draw them about, by which the arms and chiefly the Shoulder-blades are diſjoynted; and when a perſon put to the *Queſtion* confeſſes his Crime, and is upon that condemned to dye, he is obliged to renew his Confeſſion upon *Oath* at the Place of Execution; and if he goes off from it then, and ſaith, *That his Confeſſion was extorted by the Violence of the Torture*, he is put again to the *Queſtion*: for this paſſes for a Maxim, *That no man muſt dye unleſs he confeſſeth himſelf guilty*: Generally when the fury of demanding this *Chamber* is ſpread among the people, the *Gentry* run away, and leave the whole matter in the power of the *Peaſants*; for they know not where it will

will end, and ſo the *Peaſants* being named to be *Judges*, the Juſtice goes quick, till ſome Sacrifices appeaſe the Rage. Two *Year* ago, upon the ſale of a *Common* to the *Biſhop* of *Como*, to which he had an ancient pretenſion, the *Peaſants* having no more the liberty of the *Common*, were inraged at their *Magiſtrates*, and a Report was ſpread abroad, of which the firſt Author could never be diſcovered, *that the* Spaniards *had ſent a hundred thouſand* Crowns *among them to corrupt all their* Magiſtrates; upon this they were ſo ſet on fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many Sacrifices made to this fury: but the *Gentry* hapned to be then ſo much united, that there was none of them ingaged among the *Peaſants*, or that managed their *Rage*: a *Chamber of Juſtice* was granted, but the matter was ſo ordered, that it did not appear that any one was guilty; yet ſome that had dealt in that tranſaction were fined, not ſo much for any fault of theirs, as to raiſe a fund to pay the Expences of the Chamber; and becauſe they could not find colour enough to raiſe ſo much out of the Fines, there was a fine of five hundred *Livers* laid on every one of the *Spaniſh Companies*. I hope this digreſſion will not appear tedious to you, and the rather becauſe you will ſoon ſee that it was a little neceſſary to open the matter of the *Rebellion* and *Maſſacre* in the *Valteline*.

In the *Year* 1618. there was a Report ſet about, *That* the Spaniards *had a Treaty on foot to tear away the* Valteline *from the* Leagues: this

this was ſupported by the Fort *Fuentes*, that the *Governor* of *Milan* was building upon the *Lake of Como*; near the *Valteline* there was one *Ganatz* a Miniſter, but a bloody and Perfidious Man, that ſet on and managed the rage of the *Peaſants*, and there was great reaſon to ſuſpect ſome underhand dealing, tho he threw it which way he pleaſed. A *Chamber of Juſtice* was appointed to ſit at *Toſſane*, which is a conſiderable *Town* twelve miles from *Coire*, on the way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a high and ſmall Hill, to which there is no acceſs but on one ſide, where there are yet the Ruins of a *Caſtle* and a *Church*, and which they believe was the Pallace of *Rhetus*, the firſt *Prince* of the *Countrey*: There was ſevere Juſtice done in this *Chamber*, a *Prieſt* was put to the *Queſtion*, and ſo ill uſed that he dyed in it, which is a crying thing among them. The chief ſuſpicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being of one of the beſt Families of the *Griſons*, was then one of the *Captains* in the *Spaniſh* Regiment; he withdrew himſelf from the Storm, but the *Peaſants* led on by *Ganatz* purſued him ſo, that at laſt they found him, and hewed him in pieces, *Ganatz* himſelf ſtriking the firſt ſtroke with an Ax, which was taken up and preſerved by his Friends; and four and twenty *years* after, fifty or ſixty of his Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and killed him with the ſame Ax, which they brought along with them, that they might execute their deſign by the ſame Tool with which their Friend was murthered. *Ganatz* had during the *Wars* aban-

abandoned both his *Religion* and *Profeſſion*, being indeed a diſgrace to both, and had ſerved firſt in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spaniſh* Troops: After the peace was made, he became ſo conſiderable, being ſupported by the *Spaniſh* Faction, that he was choſen *Governour* of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a *Diet*, he being then in ſo important a charge: but he was ſo much hated, that tho the murthering of a *Magiſtrate* in Office, and at a publick *Aſſembly* in ſo terrible a manner, ought to have been ſeverely puniſhed, yet no inquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man ſo much as queſtioned for it. In that *Chamber* many that were put to the *Queſtion*, confeſſed enough to hang them, ſome indured the *Queſtion*, and eſcaped with the loſs of the uſe of their Arms. Thoſe of the *Valteline* have made uſe of this ſeverity, as that which gave the riſe to the *Maſſacre*, and it is very probable, this might have drawn in ſome, that would have been otherwiſe more moderate, and that it did likewiſe precipitate that Barbarous Action: yet it was afterwards found out, that the *Plot* had been formed long before, ſo that the Induſtry and Rage of the *Prieſts*, managed by *Spaniſh* Emiſſaries, working upon the bigotry of the *People*, was the Real Cauſe, and this was only made uſe of as a pretext to give ſome more plauſible colours to the *Maſſacre*, which was executed ſome Months after this *Chamber* was diſſolved. It began while the *Proteſtants* were at *Church*; there were ſome *hundreds* deſtroyed, the reſt

got

got all up to the *Mountains*, and ſo eſcaped into the Countrey of the *Griſons*, and thoſe of *Chavennes* got likewiſe up to the *Hills*; for they are ſituated juſt at the bottom of them.

I ſhall not proſecute the reſt of that *War*; the *French* ſaw of what Advantage it was to them, not to let this *paſs* from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*; ſo *Baſſompiere* was ſent to *Madrid*, and obtained a promiſe, that all things ſhould be put in the ſame ſtate in which they were before the year 1618. but when that Order was ſent to the *Governour of Milan*, it was plain he had ſecret Orders to the contrary; for he refuſed to execute it: ſo a *War* followed, in which the *Griſons* found it was not eaſy for them to ſupport the charge of it, without imploying the Aſſiſtance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other Intereſt in the affairs of the *Valteline*, than the preſervation of the *Catholick Religion*; and to ſhew their ſincerity, they put the *Countrey* into the *Popes* Hands, knowing that he could not preſerve it but by their Aſſiſtance, nor reſtore it without ſecuring it from all change of *Religion*. The *French* willingly undertook the cauſe of the *Griſons*, and becauſe the *Duke of Rohan* was like to be the moſt favourable *General*, as being of the *Religion*, he was ſent to command ſome forces that marched thither: But he ſaw, that if the *French* once made themſelves Maſters of the *Paſſes* of the *Countrey*, it would turn to their Ruin;

and

and finding the *Griſons* repoſed an intire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an Inſtrument in that which he ſaw muſt be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* ſeeing the *French* ingage in the Quarrel, and fearing leſt they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the *Paſſes*; offered to reſtore all the *Territory* in *Italy*; for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewiſe revolted, only the *Proteſtants* got away ſo quick upon the diſorders in the *Valteline*, that they prevented the Rage of the *Prieſts*. The *Spaniards* ask'd theſe conditions, that an *Amneſty* ſhould be granted for what was paſt; that there ſhould be no Exerciſe of the *Proteſtant Religion* tolerated in the *Countrey*, and that even the *Bailifs* and other *Magiſtrates* of the *Religion*, that came to be ſent into the *Valteline*, ſhould have no Exerciſe of their *Religion*; and as for other perſons; that none of the *Religion* might ſtay above *ſix Weeks* at a time in the Countrey. The *Duke of Rohan* ſeeing that Conditions of ſo much Advantage to the *Leagues* were offered to them, did underhand adviſe thoſe of the *Religion* to accept of them, at the ſame time that he ſeemed openly to oppoſe the Treaty ſet on foot on thoſe Terms, and that he might get out of this Imployment with the leſs dishonour, he adviſed their clapping him up in *Priſon* till they had finiſhed their Treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this day own, that they owe the Preſervation of their *Countrey* to the wiſe Advices of that *great Man*. Many that were of

the *Religion* returned to their Houſes and Eſtates, but the greateſt part fearing ſuch another *Maſſacre*, have ſince changed their *Religion*, others have ſold their *Eſtates*, and left the *Country*; ſome ſtay ſtill, and go two or three hours journey to ſome of the *Proteſtant Communities*, where they have the Exerciſe of the *Religion*: And tho they may not ſtay in the *Valteline* above *ſix weeks* at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the *Countrey* once within that time; nor is that matter at preſent ſo ſeverely examined, ſo that there is a calm among them as to thoſe matters. But when it comes to the turn of the *Proteſtant Communities* to ſend one of the *Religion* to thoſe imployments, he is often much embaraſſed by the *Biſhop* of *Como*, to whoſe *Dioceſs* thoſe *Territories* belong; for if the *Biſhop* fancies, that they do any thing contrary to the *Eccleſiaſtical immunities*, he *excommunicates* them; and tho this may appear a ridiculous thing, ſince they are already in a worſe ſtate by being *Hereticks*, yet it produces a very ſenſible effect; for the people that are extreamly ſuperſtitious, will not after that come near ſuch *Magiſtrates*; ſo that about three *year* ago a *Bailif* found himſelf obliged to deſire to be recalled, tho his time was not out, ſince being *excommunicated*, he could no longer maintain the *Government* in his own perſon.

Among the *Griſons* the *Roman Law* prevails, modefied a little by their Cuſtoms: one that was a little particular, was executed when

when I was there. A *Man* that hath an *Eſtate* by his *Wife*, enjoyes it after her death, as long as he continues a *Widower*; but when he *marries* again, he is bound to divide it among the *Children* that he had by her. The *Juſtice* is ſhort, and ſimple, but it is oft thought that bribes go here, tho but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The *married Women* here do ſcarce appear abroad, except at *Church*; but the *young Women* have more Liberty before they are *married*. There is ſuch a plenty of all things, by reaſon of the *Gentleneſs* of the *Government*, and the Induſtry of the People, that in all the *ten dayes*, in which I ſtayed at *Coire*, I was but once askt an Alms in the *Streets*. There are *two Churches* in *Coire*; in the one there is an *Organ*, that joyns with their *Voices* in the ſinging of the *Pſalms*; and there was for the Honour of the *Diet*, while we were there, an *Anthem* ſung by a ſet of *Muſicians* very regularly. In all the *Churches* both of *Switzerland* and the *Griſons*, except in this only, the *Miniſter* preaches covered; but here he is bare-headed. And I obſerved a particular devotion uſed here in ſaying of the *Lords Prayer*, that the *Miniſters* who wear *Caps*, put them off when this was ſaid. The *Women* here as in *Bern*, turn all to the *Eaſt* in time of *prayer*, and alſo in their private Devotions, before and after the *publick Prayers*: many alſo *bow* at the Name of *Jeſus*: They *Chriſten* diſcovering the whole Head, and pouring the *Water* on the Hind-head, uſing a

trine aſperſion, which is alſo the practice of the *Switzers*. It was matter of much edification, to ſee the great numbers both here and all *Switzerland* over, that come every day to prayers morning and evening. They give here in the middle of the prayer a good interval of Silence for the private Devotions of the Aſſembly. The *Schools* here go not above *Latin*, Greek and *Logick*; and for the reſt, they ſend their Children to *Zurich* or *Baſil*. The *Clergy* here are very meanly provided; for moſt part they have nothing but the Benevolence of their people: they complained much to me of a great Coldneſs in their people in the matters of *Religion*, and of a great Corruption in their Morals: The *Commons* are extream inſolent, and many Crimes go unpuniſhed, if the perſons that commit them have either great credit, or much money. The poor *Miniſters* here are under a terrible ſlavery; for the *Griſons* pretend, that in all times they had not only the *Patronage* of their *Churches*, but a power to diſmiſs their *Church-men* as they ſaw cauſe. How it is among the *Papiſts*, I cannot tell; but the *Dean* of the *Synod* of *the Houſe of God* told me, they had an ill cuſtom of *Ordaining* their *Miniſters* without a Title, upon an examination of their Qualifications and Abilities, which took them up generally ſix or ſeven hours, and when this tryal was thus diſpatched, if the perſon was found qualified, they *ordained* him; and it was too ordinary for thoſe that were thus *Ordained*, to endeavour to undermine the *Miniſters*

niſters already in imployment, if their people grew diſguſted at them, or as they became diſabled by Age; and often the Intereſt and Kinred of the Intruder carried the matter againſt the incumbent, without any colour or pretence; and in that caſe the *Synod* was bound to receive the Intruder. In one half of the Countrey they preach in *high Dutch*, and in the other half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romanish*, that is, a mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every *League* they have a *Synod*; and as the *people* chuſe their *Miniſters*, ſo in imitation of the *Switzers*, every *Synod* chuſes their *Antiſtes* or Superintendant; he is called the *Dean* among the *Griſons*, and hath a ſort of an Epiſcopal Power; but he is accountable to the *Synod*: The Office is for life; but the *Synod* upon great cauſe given, may make a change. The *people* of this Countrey are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have ſome tincture of the *Italian* temper. They are extream civil to *Strangers*; but it ſeems in all Commonwealths *Inn-keepers* think they have a right to exact upon *Strangers*, which one finds here, as well as in *Holland*, or in *Switzerland*.

I ſhall conclude what I have to ſay concerning the *Griſons* with a very extraordinary *Story*, which I had both from the *Miniſters* of *Coire*, and ſeveral other *Gentlemen*, that ſaw in *April* 1685. about *five hundred* Perſons of different Sexes and ages, that paſt through the *Town*, who gave this account of

themſelves. They were the *Inhabitants* of a *Valley* in *Tirol*, belonging for the greateſt part to the *Arch-Biſhoprick* of *Saltsburg*, but ſome of them were in the *Dioceſſes* of *Trent* and *Breſſe*; they ſeemed to be a remnant of the old *Waldenſes*; they worſhipped neither *Images* nor *Saints*; and they believed the *Sacrament* was only a Commemoration of the Death of *Chriſt*: and in many other Points they had their peculiar opinions, different from thoſe of the *Church of Rome*; they knew nothing neither of *Lutherans* nor *Calviniſts*; and the *Griſons*, tho their Neighbours, had never heard of this Nearneſs of theirs to the *Proteſtant Religion*. They had *Maſs* ſaid among them; but ſome *years* ſince ſome of the *Valley* going over *Germany* to earn ſomewhat by their labour, hapned to go into the *Palatinate*, where they were better inſtructed in matters of *Religion*, and theſe brought back with them into the *Valley* the *Heidelberg Catechiſm*, together with ſome other *German Books*, which ran over the *Valley*; and they being before that in a good diſpoſition, thoſe *Books* had ſuch an effect upon them, that they gave over going to *Maſs* any more, and began to worſhip *God* in a way more ſuitable to the *Rules* ſet down in Scripture: ſome of their *Prieſts* concurred with them in this happy Change; but others, that adhered ſtill to the *Maſs*, went and gave the *Arch-Biſhop of Saltsburg* an account of it; upon which he ſent ſome into the Countrey to examin the Truth of the Matter, to exhort

hort them to return to *Maſs*; and to threaten them with all ſeverity, if they continued obſtinate: ſo they ſeeing a terrible Storm ready to break upon them, reſolved to abandon their Houſes, and all they had, rather than ſin againſt their Conſciences: And the whole *Inhabitants of the Valley*, old and young, Men and Women, to the number of *two thouſand*, divided themſelves into ſeveral Bodies; ſome intended to go to *Brandenburgh*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about *five hundred* took the way of *Coire*, intending to diſperſe themſelves in *Switzerland*. The *Miniſters* told me, they were much edified with their Simplicity, and Modeſty; for a Collection being made for them, they deſired only a little bread to carry them on their way. From *Coire* we went to *Toſſane*, and from that, through the way that is juſtly called *Via Mala*. It is through a bottom between two *Rocks*, through which the *Rhine* runs, but under ground for a great part of the way: The way is cut out in the middle of the *Rock* in ſome places, and in ſeveral places the ſteepneſs of the Rock being ſuch, that a way could not be cut out, there are Beams driven into it, over which Boards and Earth are laid; this way holds an hour: After that, there is for two hours good way, and we paſt through two conſiderable *Villages*; there is good lodging in both: from thence there is, for two hours Journey terrible Way, almoſt as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an hours Journey good way to

Splugen, which is a large *Village* of above *two hundred* Houſes, that are well built, and the *Inhabitants* ſeem all to live at their eaſe, tho they have no ſort of ſoil but a little Meadow ground about them; This is the laſt *Proteſtant Church* that was in our way; it was well indowed; for the proviſion of the *Miniſter* was near two hundred *Crowns*: Thoſe of this *Village* are the *Carriers* between *Italy* and *Germany*, ſo they drive a great Trade; for there is here a perpetual *Carriage* going and coming; and we were told, that there paſs generally a *hundred Horſes* through this *Town*, one day with another; and there are above five *hundred Carriage Horſe* that belong to this Town. From this place we went mounting for three hours, till we got to the top of the *Hills*, where there is only one great *Inn*. After that the way was tolerably good for two hours; and for two hours there is conſtant deſcent, which for the moſt part is as ſteep as if we were all the while going down ſtairs: At the foot of this is a little *Village*, called *Campdolein*, and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vaſt difference of the *Climate*; for whereas we were *freezing* on the other ſide, the heat of the *Sun* was uneaſy here, and alſo by the number of the *Beggars*, tho it may ſeem the reverſe of what one ought to expect, ſince the *richeſt* Countrey of *Europe* is full of *Beggars*; and the *Griſons*, that are one of the *pooreſt States*, have no *Beggars* at all. One thing is alſo ſtrange, that among

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the *Griſons*, the rich Wine of the *Valteline*, after it is carried three Dayes Journey, is ſold cheaper than the Wine of other Countries, where it grows at the door: but there are no *Taxes* nor *Impoſitions* here. From *Campdolein* there is three Hours Journey to *Chavennes*, all in a Slow deſcent, and in ſome Places the Way is extream rugged and ſtony. *Chavennes* is very pleaſantly ſcituated at the very Foot of the *Mountains*; there runs through the *Town* a pleaſant little River; It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich *Vineyards* about it: and the Rebound of the Sun-Beams from the *Mountains*, doth ſo increaſe the heats here, that the Soil is as rich here, as in any Place of *Italy*. Here one begins to ſee a Noble *Architecture* in a great many Houſes; in ſhort, all the Marks of a rich Soil, and a *free Government* appear here. The *Town* ſtood a little more to the North, about five hundred *years* ago, but a *Slice* of the *Alps* came down upon it, and buried it quite; and at the Upper-end of the *Town* there are ſome *Rocks* that look like *Ruins*, about which there hath been a very extraordinary Expence, to divide them one from another, and to make them fit Places for *Forts* and *Caſtles*: the Marks of the Tools appeared all over the *Rock* in one place. I meaſured the Breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty Foot, the length is four hundred and fifty Foot, and as we could gueſs, the *Rock* was two hundred Foot high, cut down on both ſides in a Line as even as a Wall;

towards the top of one, the name *Salvius* is cut in great Letters, a little *Gothick*. On the Tops of those *Rocks*, which are inacceſſible, except on the one ſide, and to that the Aſcent is extream uneaſy, they had *Garriſons* during the *Wars* of the *Valteline*: there were fifteen hundred in *Garriſon* in that which is in the middle: There falls down frequently *Slices* from the *Hills*, that do extreamly fatten the Ground which they cover, ſo that it becomes fruitful beyond expreſſion: and I ſaw a *Lime Tree*, that was planted eight and thirty *years* ago, in a piece of Ground, which had been ſo covered, that was two Fathom and a half of Compaſs. On both ſides of the *River*, the *Town*, and the *Gardens* belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom, that lies between the *Hills*, and at the Roots of the *Mountains* they dig great *Cellars*, and *Grottoes*, and ſtrike a *hole* about a foot Square, ten or twelve foot into the *Hill*, which all the Summer long blows a freſh Air into the *Cellar*; ſo that the *Wine* of thoſe *Cellars* drinks almoſt as cold as if it were in *Ice*; but this Wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the end of *September*: For the Sun opening the Pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that which is compreſſed within the cavities that are in the *Mountains*, ruſhes out with a conſtant Wind; but when the operation of the Sun is weakned, this courſe of the Air is leſs ſenſible. Before or over thoſe *Vaults* they build little pleaſant rooms like *Summerhouſes*, and

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in them they go to collation generally at night in *Summer*. I never ſaw bigger *Grapes* than grow there; there is one ſort bigger than the biggeſt *Damaſcene Plums* that we have in *England*.

There is a ſort of *Wine* here and in the *Valteline*, which I never heard named any where elſe, that is called *Aromatick-wine*, and as the taſte makes one think it muſt be a compoſition (for it taſtes like a *Strong-water* drawn of *Spices*) ſo its ſtrength being equal to a weak *Brandy*, diſpoſes one to believe that it cannot be a natural *Wine*, and yet it is the pure juice of the *Grape*, without any mixture. The *Liquor* being ſingular, I informed my ſelf particularly of the way of preparing it: the *Grapes* are red, tho it drinks white; they let the *Grapes* hang on the *Vines* till *November*, that they are extream ripe, then they carry them to their *Garrets*, and ſet them all upright on their ends by one another for two or three months, then they pick all the *Grapes*, and throw away thoſe in which there is the leaſt appearance of rottenneſs, ſo that they preſs none but ſound Grapes: after they are preſſed, they put the *Liquor* in an open *Veſſel*, in which it throws up a ſcum, which they take off twice a day, and when no more ſcum comes up, which according to the difference of the ſeaſon is ſooner or later (for ſometimes the ſcum comes no more after eight dayes, and at other times it continues a fortnight) then they put it in a cloſe Veſſel; for the firſt *year* it is extream ſweet and luſcious, but at the

the End of the *year*, they pierce it a little higher than the middle of the Veſſel, almoſt two thirds from the Bottom, and drink it off till it cometh ſo low, and then every *year* they fill it up anew: once a *year* in the Month of *March* it ferments, and cannot be drunk till that is over, which continues a Month; but their other *Wine* ferments not at that time. *Madam Salis*, a Lady of that *Country*, who entertained us three Dayes with a Magnificence equal to what can be done in *London* or *Paris*, had *Wine* of this Compoſition, that was forty *years* old, and was ſo very ſtrong, that one could hardly drink above a ſpoonful, and it taſted high of Spicery, tho ſhe aſſured me there was not one grain of Spice in it, nor of any other mixture whatſoever. Thus the heat that is in this *Wine*, becomes a fire, and diſtils it ſelf, throwing up the more ſpirituous parts of it to the top of the Hogs-head.

Both here, and in the *Griſons*, the *meat* is very juicy, the *Fowl* is excellent, their *Roots* and *Herbs* very taſtful; but the *Fish* of their *Lakes* is beyond any thing I ever ſaw. They live in a great Simplicity as to their Habit and Furniture, but they have plenty of all things, and are extream rich; the *Family* where we were ſo nobly entertained, is believed to have about two hundred thouſand *Crowns*: here the *Italian* cuſtom, of *one* only of a *Family* that marries, takes place generally. There is a ſort of *Pots of Stone* that is uſed not only in all the *Kitchins* here, but almoſt all *Lombardy* over, called *Lavege*, the *Stone*

feels

feels oily and ſcaly, ſo that a Scale ſticks to ones Finger that touches it, and is ſomewhat of the nature of a *Slate*; there are but three *Mines* of it known in theſe parts, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valteline*, and the third in the *Griſons*; but the firſt is much the beſt; they generally cut it in the *Mine* round, of about a Foot and a half Diameter, and about a Foot and a quarter thick, and they work it in a Mill, where the Chizzels that cut the *Stone* are driven about by a Wheel that is ſet a going by Water, and which is ſo ordered; that he who manages the Chizzel, very eaſily draws forward the Wheel out of the courſe of the Water; they turn off firſt the outward coat of this *Stone*, till it is exactly ſmooth, and then they ſeparate one *Pot* after another by thoſe ſmall and hooked Chizzels, by which they make a Neſt of *Pots*, all one within another, the outward and biggeſt being as big as an Ordinary *Beef-pot*, and the inward *Pot* being no bigger than a ſmall *Pipkin*; theſe they arm with hooks and Circles of braſs, and ſo they are ſerved by them in their *Kitchins*. One of theſe *Stone-pots* takes heat and boils ſooner than any *Pot* of *Mettle*; and whereas the Bottoms of *Mettle-pots* tranſmit the heat ſo intirely to the *Liquor* within, that they are not inſufferably hot, the bottom of this *Stone-pot*, which is about twice ſo thick as a *Pot of Mettle*, burns extreamly; it never cracks, neither gives it any ſort of *taſte* to the *Liquor* that is boiled in it; but if it falls to the Ground, it is very brittle; yet this is repaired

paired by patching it up; for they piece their broken *Pots* ſo cloſe, tho without any cement, by ſowing with Iron-wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the wire, there is not the leaſt breach made, except that which the wire both makes and fills. The paſſage to this *Mine* is very inconvenient; for they muſt creep into it for near *half a mile* through a *Rock*, that is ſo hard, that the paſſage is not above three foot high, and ſo thoſe that draw out the *Stones* creep all along upon their belly, having a *Candle* faſtned in their forehead, and the *Stone* laid on a ſort of Cuſhion made for it upon their hips: The *Stones* are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned ſome falls of *Mountains* in thoſe parts, I cannot paſs by the extraordinary fate of the *Town* of *Pleurs*, that was about a league from *Chavennes* to the North, in the ſame bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raiſed: The *Town* was half the bigneſs of *Chavennes*, the number of the *Inhabitants* was about *two* and *twenty hundred* perſons, but it was much more nobly built; for beſides the great *Palace* of the *Francken*, that coſt ſome millions, there were many other *Palaces* that were built by ſeveral rich *Factors* both of *Milan*, and the other parts of *Italy*, who liked the *ſcituation* and *air*, as well as the *freedom* of the *Government* of this place, ſo they uſed to come hither during the Heats, and here they gave themſelves all the indulgences that a vaſt Wealth could furniſh.

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By one of the *Palaces*, that was a little distant from the *Town*, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest: It was an out-house of the *Family* of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many *Palaces* in *Italy*; and certainly, *House* and *Gardens* could not cost so little as one hundred thousand *Crowns*. The voluptuousness of this place became very crying, and *Madam de Salis* told me, that she heard her Mother often relate some passages of a *Protestant Ministers* Sermons, that preached in a little *Church*, which those of the *Religion* had there, and warned them often of the terrible judgements of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed would suddenly break out upon them. On the 25th of *August* 1618. an *Inhabitant* came and told them to be gone; for he saw the *Mountains* cleaving; but he was laughed at for his pains: He had a *Daughter* whom he perswaded to leave all and go with him; but when she was gone out of *Town* with him, she called to mind that she had not locked the Door of a Room in which she had some things of Value, and so she went back to do that, and was buried with the rest; for at the hour of Supper the *Hill* fell down, and buried the *Town* and all the *Inhabitants*, so that not one person escaped: The fall of the *Mountains* did so fill the *Channel* of the *River*, that the first news those of *Chavennes* had of it, was by the failing of their *River*; for three or four hours there came not a drop of *Water*; but the *River* wrought for it self a new course, and returned

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to them; I could hear no particular Character of the *Man* who escaped, so I must leave the secret Reason of so singular a Preservation to the great discovery at the last Day of those steps of Divine Providence, that are now so unaccountable. Some of the *Family* of the *Frantken* got some *Miners* to work under ground, to find out the *Wealth* that was buried in their *Palace*; for besides their *Plate* and *Furniture*, there was a great *Cash* and many *Jewels* in the House: the *Miners* pretended they could find nothing; but they went to their Country of *Tirol*, and built fine Houses, and a great Wealth appeared, of which no other visible account could be given but this, that they had found some of that Treasure. The Chief *Factors* of *Italy* have been *Grisons*; and they told me, that as the Trade of *Banking* began in *Lombardy*, so that all *Europe* over, a *Lombard* and a *Bank* signifyed the same thing, so the great *Bankers* of *Lombardy* were *Grisons*, and to this day the *Grisons* drive a great Trade in *Money*; for a *Man* there of a hundred thousand *Crowns* Estate, hath not perhaps a third part of this within the Countrey, but puts it out in the neighbouring *States*: And the *Liberty* of the Countrey is such, that the *Natives* when they have made up *Estates* elsewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy* and the best parts of *Germany*, and to come and live among those *Mountains*, of which the very sight is enough to fill a Man with horror.

From *Chavennes* we went for two hours through a plain to the *Lake* of *Chavennes*,

which is almoſt round, and is about two mile Diameter. This *Lake* falls into the *Lake* of *Como*, over againſt the Fort *Fuentes*; when we paſſed there, the Water was ſo low, that the Boat could not eaſily get over a Bank that lay between the two *Lakes*. The *Lake* of *Como* is about eight and forty miles long, and four broad; it runs between two ranges of Hills: I did nor ſtay long enough in *Como* to give any Deſcription of it; for I thought to have returned that way from a little Tour that I made into the *Bailiages* that the *Switzers* have in *Italy*, of *Lugane*, *Locarmo*, and *Bellinzona*: but I took another Courſe, ſo I ſaw nothing in *Como*; the beſt thing in it is a fine *Chappel*, which the preſent *Pope*, who is a Native of *Como*, is building. From *Como* we went eight miles to *Codelaggo*, which belongs to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugane* we had eight miles of *Lake*: This *Lake* doth not run in an even current, as the other *Lakes*, that riſe under the *Alps*; but the ſcituation of the *Hills* about it, throws it into ſeveral courſes.

The *Switzers* have here ſeveral little *Provinces*, or *Bailiages*, of which during the *Wars* of *Italy*, between the *Dukes* of *Milan* and the two *Crowns*, in *Francis the Firſt*, and *Charles the Fifths* time, they poſſeſſed themſelves of as a Pledge for payment of their Arrears; and they were then ſuch conſiderable *Allies*, that they made both the Competitors for the *Dutchy of Milan* court them by turns, and became the peaceable Poſſeſſors of almoſt all that tract

that lies between the *Lake* of *Como* to the Countrey of the *Valeſſii*, or the Valleys. The *Inhabitants* here are ſo well uſed, they live ſo free of all Impoſitions, and the *Switzers* Government is ſo gentle, that here I muſt tell you another Paradox, this is the Worſt Countrey, the leaſt Productive, the moſt expoſed to Cold, and the leaſt Capable of Trade of all *Italy*; and yet it is by far the beſt Peopled of any that I ſaw in all *Italy*: There belongs to the *Bailiage* of *Lugane* alone, ninety-nine *Villages*, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of People. The twelve Ancient *Cantons* have their turns of all the *Bailiages* and other Offices here: but when it comes to the turn of thoſe of the *Religion*, their *Bailifs* muſt be contented with private Devotions in their own *Houſe*, but can have no publick Exerciſes, nor ſo much as a *Miniſter* in their Houſes. For here, as in the *Valteline*, when the *Spaniards* confirmed the Right of the *Cantons* to thoſe *Territories*, they made an expreſs Proviſion, that no *Religion* except the *Popiſh* ſhould be tolerated here; ſo that the *Bailif*, who is the *Prince*, often hath not the free Liberty of his *Religion* in theſe Parts. The *Balifs* here make their Advantages, as well as in the other Parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more Caution; for they take great care not to give the *Natives* any diſtaſt, tho the Miſeries, to which they ſee all their Neighbours expoſed, and the Abundance and Liberty in which they live, ſhould by all appearance deliver their Maſters from any great Apprehenſions

ſions of a Revolt: A great many *Mechanicks* of all ſorts live in theſe parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all *Taxes*. I was told, that ſome *Nephews* of *Popes*, in particular the *Barberines*, had treated with the *Switzers*, to buy this Countrey from them, and ſo to erect it into a *Principality*; and that they had reſolved to offer twelve thouſand *Crowns* to the twelve *Cantons*: but they found it would certainly be rejected, ſo they made not the propoſition to the *Diet* of the *Cantons*, as they once intended: and it is certain, whenſoever this Countrey is brought under a Yoke, like that which the reſt of *Italy* bears, it will be ſoon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws ſo many People to live in ſo ill a Soil, when they are in ſight of the beſt Soil of *Europe*, but the eaſineſs of the *Government*. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble *Lake*, it is ſix and fifty Miles long, and in moſt places ſix Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the middle of it, it makes a great *Bay* to the Weſtward; and there lies here two Iſlands, called the *Borromean Iſlands*, that are certainly the lovelieſt ſpots of ground in the World; there is nothing in all *Italy*, that can be compared to them; they have the full view of the *Lake*; and the ground riſes ſo ſweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined like the *Terraſſes* here; they belong to two *Counts* of the *Borromean Family*. I was only in one of them, which belongs to the *Head* of the *Family*

mily, who is *Nephew* to the famous *Cardinal* known by the name of *S. Carlo*: on the Weſt-end lies the *Palace*, which is one of the beſt of *Italy*; for the Lodgings within, tho the *Architecture* is but ordinary, there is one noble Apartment above four and twenty foot high; and there is a vaſt Addition making to it; and here is a great Collection of noble *Pictures*, beyond any thing I ſaw out of *Rome*: The whole *Iſland* is a Garden, except a little corner to the South, ſet off for a *Village* of about forty little Houſes; and becauſe the figure of the *Iſland* was not more regular by nature, they have built great *Vaults* and *Portico's* along the *Rock*, which are all made Groteſque; and ſo they have brought it to a regular form by laying Earth over thoſe *Vaults*. There is firſt a *Garden* to the Eaſt, that riſes up from the *Lake* by five Rows of *Terraſſes*, on the three ſides of the *Garden* that are watered by the *Lake*; the Stairs are noble; the Walls are all covered with *Oranges* and *Citrons*; and a more beautiful ſpot of a Garden cannot be ſeen: There are two Buildings in the two Corners of this Garden, the one is only a Mill for fetching up the Water, and the other is a noble *Summer-houſe* all wainſcotted, if I may ſpeak ſo, with *Alabaſter* and *Marble*, of a fine colour, inclining to red; from this *Garden* one goes in a level to all the reſt of the *Alleys* and *Parterres*, *Herb-Gardens* and *Flower-Gardens*; in all which there are variety of *Fountains* and *Arbors*; but the great *Parterre* is a ſurprizing thing; for as it is well furniſhed

with

with *Statues* and *Fountains*, and is of a vaſt extent, and juſtly ſcituated to the Palace, ſo at the Further-end of it, there is a great *Mount*, that face of it that looks to the *Parterre* is made like a *Theater*, all full of *Fountains* and *Statues*, the height riſing up in five ſeveral Rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourſcore foot in front; and round this *Mount*, anſwering to the five Rows into which the *Theater* is divided, there goes as many *Terraſſes* of noble *Walks*; the *Walls* are all as cloſe covered with *Oranges* and *Citrons* as any of our Walls in *England* are with *Laurel*: the Top of the *Mount* is ſeventy foot long and forty broad; and here is a vaſt *Ciſtern*, into which the Mill plays up the Water that muſt furniſh all the Fountains: The *Fountains* were not quite finiſhed when I was there; but when all is finiſhed, this place will look like an *Inchanted Iſland*. The Freſhneſs of the Air, it being both in a *Lake*, and near the *Mountains*, the fragant Smell, the beautiful Proſpect, and the delighting Variety that is here, makes it ſuch a Habitation for *Summer*, that perhaps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I went to *Seſtio*, a miſerable *Village* at the end of the *Lake*, and here I began to feel a mighty change, being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifulleſt Countrey that can be imagined, the ground lies ſo even, it is ſo well watered, ſo ſweetly divided by Rows of Trees, incloſing every piece of ground of an Acre or two Acres compaſs, that it cannot be denied, that here

is a vaſt extent of Soil, above two hundred Miles long, and in many places a hundred Miles broad, where the whole *Countrey* is equal to the loveliest ſpots in all *England* or *France*; it hath all the Sweetneſs that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun, and a better Air; the Neighbour-hood of the Mountains cauſes a freſhneſs of Air here, that makes the Soil the moſt deſirable place to live in that can be ſeen, if the *Government* were not ſo exceſſively ſevere, that there is nothing but *Poverty* over all this *rich* Countrey. A *Traveller* in many places finds almoſt nothing, and is ſo ill furniſhed, that if he doth not buy proviſions in the great *Towns*, he will be obliged to a very ſevere *Diet*, in a Countrey that he ſhould think flowed with Milk and Honey: but I ſhall ſay more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* diſcharges it ſelf in the River *Teſine*, which runs with ſuch a force, that we went thirty Miles in three hours, having but one Rower, and the Water was no way ſwelled. From this we went into the *Canale*, which *Francis the Firſt* cut from this *River* to the *Town* of *Milan*; which is about thirty foot broad, and on both its Banks there are ſuch proviſions to diſcharge the Water when it riſes to ſuch a height, that it can never be fuller of Water than is intended it ſhould be; it lies alſo ſo even, that ſometimes for ſix Miles together one ſees the line ſo exact, that there is not the leaſt crook: it is thirty Miles long, and is the beſt Advantage that the *Town of Milan* hath for Water-Carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long deſcription of this great *City*, which is one of the nobleſt in the World, to be an Inland *Town*, that hath no great Court, no Commerce, either by Sea, or any Navigable River, and that is now the *Metropolis* of a very ſmall *State*; for that which is not Mountainous in this *State*, is not above ſixty Miles ſquare, and yet it produces a Wealth that is ſurprizing: It pays for an eſtabliſhment of ſeven and forty thouſand Men, and yet there are not ſixteen thouſand *Souldiers* effectively in it; ſo many are eat up by thoſe in whoſe hands the *Government* is lodged: But the Vaſtneſs of the *Town*, the *Nobleneſs* of the *Buildings*, and above all, the ſurprizing Riches of the *Churches* and *Convents*, are ſigns of great Wealth! The *Dome* hath nothing to commend it of *Architecture*, it being built in the rude *Gothick* manner; but for the vaſtneſs and riches of the Building, it is equal to any in *Italy*, *St. Peters* it ſelf not excepted. It is all *Marble*, both Pavement and Walls, both outſide and Inſide, and on the Top it is all flagg'd with *Marble*; and there is the vaſteſt Number of *Niches* for *Statues* of Marble, both within and without, that are any where to be ſeen. It is true, the *Statues* in ſome of the *Niches* are not proportioned to the *Niches* themſelves; the *Frontiſpiece* is not yet made, it is to be all over covered with *Statues* and *Bas-reliefs*; and the *Pillars*, of which there are four Rows in the Body of the *Church*, have each of them eight *Niches* at the top, for ſo many *Statues*; and tho one would think this *Church* ſo full of *Sta-*

tues, that almoſt every *Saint* hath his *Statue*, yet I was aſſured, they wanted *ſeven thouſand* to finiſh the deſign; but theſe muſt chiefly belong to the *Frontiſpice*: The *Church*, as I could meaſure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred foot long, and two hundred wide; the *Quire* is wainſcotted and carved in ſo extraordinary a manner, that I never ſaw *Paſſion* ſo well expreſſed in *Wood*; it contains ſixty Stalls, and they have almoſt all the Hiſtories of the *Goſpel* repreſented in them. Juſt under the *Cupulo* lies *S. Carlo's* Body, as I was told, in a great Caſe of Criſtal of vaſt value; but I could not come near it; for we were there on two *Holidayes*, and there was a perpetual crowd about it; and the Superſtition of the People for his Body, is ſuch, that on a *Holi-day* one runs a hazard that comes near it without doing ſome Reverence. His *Canonization* coſt the *Town* a hundred thouſand *Crowns*; they pretend they have *Miracles* too for Cardinal *Frederigo Borromeo*; but they will not ſet about his *Canoniſation*, the price is ſo high. The *Plate* and other Preſents made to *S. Carlo* are things of a prodigious value; ſome *Services* for the *Altar* are all of *Gold*, ſome very Maſſive, and ſet with *Jewels*, others ſo finely wrought, that the faſhion is thought equal to the value of the mettle; the *Habits* and all the other *Ornaments* for the Function of his *Canoniſation* are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a *Prelate* of great merit, and according to the *Anſwer* that a *Fryer* made to *Philip de Comines*, when he asked him, how they

came

came to qualifie one of the worst of their *Princes* with the Title of *Saint* in an Inscription which he read, which was, that they gave that *Title* to all their *Benefactors*; never man deserved of a Town this *Title* so justly as *Cardinal Bortomeo* did; for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his *Family*, but the honour of having produced so great a man, which is a real temporal inheritance to it; for as there have been since that time, two *Cardinals* of that *Family*, so it is esteemed a *Casa Santa*; and every time that it produces an *Ecclesiastick* of any considerable merit, he is sure, if he lives to it, to be raised to this *Archbishoprick*; for if there were one of the *Family* capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might dispose the *State* to a *Rebellion*, and he were a bold man that would adventure on a Competition with one of this *Family*. He laid out a great deal on the *Dome*, and consecrated it, tho the work will not be quite finished yet for some *Ages*; that being one of the Crafts of the *Italian Priests*, never to finish a great design, that so by keeping it still in an unfinisht estate, they may be alwayes drawing great Donatives to it, from the Superstition of the People. He built the *Arch-Bishops Palace*, which is very noble, and a *Seminary*, a *Colledge* for the *Switzers*, several *Parish Churches*, and many *Convents*. In short, the whole *Town* is full of the marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the *Churches* of *Milan* strike one with amazement, the *Building*, the *Painting*, the *Altars*, and the *Plate*, and eve-

ry thing in the *Convents*, except their *Librairies*, are all ſigns both of great Wealth and of a very powerful Superſtition; but their *Librairies* not only here, but all *Italy* over, are ſcandalous things; the *Room* is often fine, and richly adorned, but the *Books* are few, ill bound, and worſe choſen; and the ignorance of the *Prieſts* both *ſecular* and *Regular* is ſuch, that no man, that hath not had occaſion to diſcover it, can eaſily believe it. The *Convent* of *S. Victor*, that is without the *Town*, is by much the richeſt, it is compoſed of *Canons Regular*, called in *Italy* the *Order of Mount Olive*, or *Olivetan*; that of the *Bernabites* is extream rich, there is a *Pulpit* and a *Confeſſional* all inlaid with *Agates* of different colours, finely ſpotted *Marbles*, and of *Lapis Lazulis*, that are thought almoſt ineſtimable. *S. Laurence* has a noble *Cupulo*, and a *Pulpit* of the ſame form with that of the *Bernabites*. The *Jeſuits*, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and *S. Sebaſtians* are very rich. The *Cittadel* is too well known to need a deſcription; it is very regularly built, and is a moſt effectual reſtraint to keep the *Town* in order, but it could not ſtand out againſt a good *Army* three dayes; for it is ſo little, and ſo full of Buildings, that it could not reſiſt a ſhowr of *Bombs*. The *Hoſpital* is indeed a Royal Building; I was told it had ninety thouſand *Crowns* Revenue: The old *Court* is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new *Court* that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot ſquare, and there are three rows of *Corridors* or *Galleries* all round the

Court,

Court, one in every ſtage, according to the *Italian* manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and gives a *Gallery* before every door: It is true, theſe take up a great deal of the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten foot broad; but then here is an open ſpace, that is extream cool on that ſide where the Sun doth not lye; for it is all open to the Air, the *Wall* being only ſupported by *Pillars*, at the diſtance of fifteen or twenty foot one from another. In this *Hoſpital* there are not only *Galleries* full of *Beds* on both ſides, as is ordinary in all *Hoſpitals*; but there are alſo a great many *Chambers*, in which perſons, whoſe condition was formerly diſtinguiſhed, are treated with a particular Care. There is an out-houſe, which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the *Walls*, which belongs to this *Hoſpital*, it is an exact quarter of a mile ſquare, and there are three-hundred and ſixty *Rooms* in it, and a *Gallery* runs all along before the *Chambers*, ſo that as the ſervice is convenient, the ſick have a covered walk before their Doors. In the middle of this vaſt ſquare there is an *Octangular Chappel*, ſo contrived, that the ſick from all their Beds may ſee the *elevation* of the *Hoſtie*, and adore it: This *Houſe* is for the *Plague*, or for infectious *Feavers*; and the *Sick* that want a freer Air, are alſo removed hither.

As for the *Devotions* of this place, I ſaw here the *Ambroſian Office*, which is diſtinguiſhed from the *Roman*, both in the *Muſick*, which is much ſimpler, and in ſome other Rites: the

Goſpel

Goſpel is read in a high *Pulpit* at the lower end of the *Quire*, that ſo it may be heard by all the people; tho this is needleſs, ſince it is read in a language that they do not underſtand: when they go to ſay high *Maſs*, the *Prieſt* comes from the *high Altar* to the lower-end of the *Quire*, where the *Offertory* of the *Bread* and the *Wine* is made by ſome of the *Laity*; they were *Nuns* that made it when I was there; I heard a *Capucin* Preach here; it was the firſt *Sermon* I heard in *Italy*, and I was much ſurprized at many Comical Expreſſions and Geſtures, but moſt of all with the Concluſion; for there being in all the *Pulpits* of *Italy* a *Crucifix* on the ſide of the Pulpit towards the *Altar*; he, after a long addreſs to it, at laſt, in a forced Tranſport, took it in his *Arms*, and hugged it, and kiſſed it: But I obſerved, that before he *kiſs'd* it, he ſeeing ſome duſt on it, blew it off very carefully; for I was juſt under the *Pulpit*: He entertained it with a long and tender Careſs, and held it out to the people, and would have forced Tears both from himſelf and them; yet I ſaw none ſhed. But if the *Sermon* in the morning ſurprized me, I wondred no leſs at two *Diſcourſes* that I heard in one *Church*, at the ſame time, in the afternoon: for there were two Bodies of men ſet down in different places of the *Church*, all covered, and two *Laymen* in ordinary habits were entertaining them with Diſcourſes of *Religion* in a Catechiſtical ſtile: Theſe were *Confrairies*, and thoſe were ſome of the more devout, that inſtructed the reſt. This, as I never ſaw any where elſe, ſo I

do

do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan*, or not. My *Conductor* could not ſpeak *Latin*, and the *Italian* there is ſo different from the true *Tuſcan*, which I only knew, that I could not underſtand him when he was ingaged in a long diſcourſe, ſo I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think, it might have been ſome inſtitution of *Cardinal Borromeos*. The *Ambroſian Library*, founded by *Cardinal Frederick Borromeo*, is a very noble *Room*, and well furniſhed, only it is too full of *School-men* and *Canoniſts*; which are the chief *ſtudies* of *Italy*; and it hath too few *Books* of a more ſolid and uſeful learning. One part of the diſpoſition of the *Room* was pleaſant; there is a great number of *Chairs*, placed all round it at a competent diſtance from one another; and to every *Chair* there belongs a *Desk*, with an *Ecritoire*, that hath Pen, Ink, and Paper in it; ſo that every Man finds tools here for ſuch extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of *Manuſcripts* at the end of the great *Gallery*, but the *Library-keeper* knows little of them; a great many of them relate to their *Saint Charles*. I ſaw ſome fragments of *Latin Bibles*, but none ſeemed to be above ſix hundred *Years* old; there are alſo ſome fragments of *Saint Ambroſes Works*, and of *Saint Jeroms Epiſtles*, that are of the ſame antiquity. I was ſorry not to find *Saint Ambroſe's Works* intire, that I might have ſeen, whether the *Books* of the *Sacraments* are aſcribed to him in ancient *Copies*; for perhaps they belong to a more modern *Author*. It is true,

true in these *Books*, the Doctrine of a sort of a *corporal presence* is asserted in very high expressions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is stronger against it, than all those Citations can be for it; for the *Author* gives us the formal Words of the *Prayer of Consecration* in his time, which he prefaces with some solemnity: *will you know how the change is wrought, hear the Heavenly Words? For the Priest saith*, &c. But whereas in the present *Canon* of the *Mass*, the *Prayer of Consecration* is for a good part of it very near in the same Words with those which he mentions, there is one essential difference; for in the *Canon* they now *pray*, that the *Hosty* may be to them *the Body and Blood of Christ*, (which by the way doth not agree too well with the notion of *Transubstantiation*, and approacheth more to the Doctrine of the *Lutherans*:) whereas in the *Prayer*, cited by that *Author*, the *Hosty* is said to be *the Figure of the Body and Blood of Christ*: here is the language of the whole *Church* of that time, and in the most important part of *the Divine Office*, which signifieth more to me, than a thousand *Quotations* out of particular Writers, which are but their Private *Opinions*: but this is the *Voice* of the *whole Body* in its Addresses to God: and it seems, the *Church of Rome*, when the new Doctrine of the *Corporal Presence* was received, saw that this *Prayer of Consecration* could not consist with it, which made her change such a main part of the *Office*. This gave me a curiosity every where to search for ancient

Offices,

Offices, but I found none in the *Abbey* of *St. Germains*, that ſeemed older than the times of *Charles the Great*; ſo I found none of any great *Antiquity* in all *Italy*: Thoſe publiſhed by *Cardinal Bona*, and ſince by *P. Mabillon*, that were brought from *Heidelberg*, are the moſt ancient that are in the *Vatican*; but theſe ſeem not to be above eight hundred *years* old: There are none of the ancient *Roman Offices* now to be ſeen in the *Vatican*. I was amazed to find none of any great *Antiquity*; which made me conclude, that either they were deſtroyed, that ſo the difference between Ancient and Modern *Rituals* might not be turned againſt that *Church*, as an undeniable Evidence, to prove the *Changes* that *ſhe* hath made in *divine Matters*; or, that they were ſo well kept, that *Heretick*s were not to be ſuffered to look into them. But to return to the *Ambroſian Library*, there is in it a *Manuſcript* of great *Antiquity*, tho not of ſuch great conſequence, which is *Ruffinus's* Tranſlation of *Joſephus*, that is written in the old *Roman hand*, which is very hard to be read. But there is a *deed* in the curious Collection that *Count Maſcardo* hath made at *Verona*, which by the date appears to have been written in *Theodoſius*'s time, which is the ſame ſort of writing with the *Manuſcript* of *Ruffinus*, ſo that it may be reckoned to have been writ in *Ruffinus* his own time, and this is the moſt valuable, tho the leaſt known Curioſity in the whole *Library*.

I need not ſay any thing of the curious *Works* in

in *Christal* that are to be seen in *Italy*, the greatest quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and are wrought here; but this is too well known to need any further inlargement. It is certain, the *Alps* have much *Wealth* shut up in their *Rocks*, if the *Inhabitants* knew how to search for it: But I heard of no *Mines* that were wrought, except *Iron Mines*, yet by the colourings, that in many places, the *Fountains* make, as they run along the *Rocks*, one sees cause to believe, that there are *Mines* and *Minerals* shut up within them. *Gold* hath been often found in the River of *Arve*, that runs by *Geneva*.

The last *curiosity* that I shall mention of the *Town of Milan*, is the *Cabinet* of the *Chanoine Settala*, which is now in his Brothers hands, where there are a great many very valuable things, both of Art and Nature: there is a lump of *Ore*, in which there is both *Gold*, and *Silver*, and *Emeralds*, and *Diamonds*, which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious motions, where by an unseen Spring, a *Ball*, after it hath rowled down through many winding descents, is thrown up, and so it seems to be a perpetual motion; this is done in several forms, and it is well enough disguised to deceive the vulgar. Many motions of little *Animals*, that run about by Springs, are also very pretty. There is a *Loadstone* of a vast force, that carries a great *Chain*: There is also a monstrous *Child*, that was lately born in the *Hospital*, which is preserved in *Spirit of Wine*: it is double below, it hath one Breast and Neck, two pair of Ears, a

[illegible], and but one Face. As for the *Buildings* in *Milan*, they are big and substantial; but they have not much regular, or beautiful *Architecture*: The *Governor's Palace* hath some noble Apartments in it: The chief Palace of the Town is that of the *Homo ei*, which was built by a *Bankier*. There is one Inconvenience in *Milan*, which throws down all the Pleasure that one can find in it: They have no *glass Windows*, so that one is either exposed to the *Air*, or shut up in a *Dungeon*: and this is so universal, that there is not one House of ten that hath *Glass* in their *Windows*: The same Defect is in *Florence*, besides all the small Towns of *Italy*, which is an effect of their Poverty: For what by the Oppression of the *Government*, what by the no less squeezing Oppression of their *Priests*, who drain all the rest of their Wealth, that is not eat up by the *Prince*, to inrich their *Churches* and *Convents*, the People here are reduced to a Poverty, that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the Wealth that is in their *Churches*: and this is going on so constantly in *Milan*, that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast a Treasure can be found; but *Purgatory* is a *Fund* not easily exhausted. The Wealth of the *Milanese* consists chiefly in their *Silks*, and that Trade falls so mightily by the vast Importations that the *East India Companies* bring into *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very sensibly, and languish extreamly by the great fall that is in the *Slik-Trade*. There is a great magnificence in *Milan*; the *Nobility* affect to make a noble Appearance, both in their Cloaths, their

Coaches, and their Attendants; and the *Women* go abroad with more Freedom here, than in any *Town* of *Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am

Yours.

Postscript.

In the Account that I gave you of *Geneva*, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary Person that is there, *Mistris Walkier*; her Father is of *Shaff-house*, she lost her sight when she was but a *year* old, by being too near a Stove that was very hot: There rests in the upper part of her eye so much sight, that she distinguishes day from night: and when any person stands between her and the light, she will distinguish by the Head and its dress a Man from a Woman; but when she turns down her Eyes, she sees nothing: she hath a vast Memory; besides the *French*, that is her natural Language, she speaks both *High-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*: she hath all the *Psalms* by heart, in *French*, and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*: she understands the *Old Philosophy* well; and is now studying the *New*: she hath studied the Body of *Divinity* well, and hath the *Text* of the *Scriptures* very ready: On all which matters I had long conversation with her; she not only *sings* well, but she playes rarely on the *Organ*; and I was told, she played on the *Violin*, but her *Violin* was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she *writes* legibly: in order to her learning to write, her Father, who is a worthy man, and hath such tenderness for her, that he furnisheth

miſheth her with Maſters of all ſorts, ordered *Letters* to be carved in Wood, and ſhe by feeling the *Characters*, formed ſuch an *Idea* of them, that ſhe writes with a *Crayon* ſo diſtinctly, that her writing can be well read; of which I have ſeveral Eſſayes. I ſaw her write; ſhe doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; ſhe hath a Machine that holds the Paper, and keeps her alwayes in Line. But that which is above all the reſt, ſhe is a perſon of extraordinary Devotion, great reſignation to the Will of God, and a profound humility: The *Preceptor*; that her Father kept in the houſe with her, hath likewiſe a wonderful Faculty of acquiring *Tongues*. When he came firſt to *Geneva* (for he is of *Zurich*) he ſpoke not a word of *French*, and within thirteen Months he preacht in *French* correctly, and with a good Accent: He alſo began to ſtudy *Italian* in the Month of *November*, and before the end of the following *February* he preacht in *Italian*; his accent was good, and his ſtile was florid, which was very extraordinary, for the *Italian* Language is not ſpoken in *Geneva*, tho the race of the *Italians* do keep up ſtill an *Italian Church* there.

THE THIRD LETTER.

Florence, the 5th of *November*, 1685.

I Have now another *Month* over my Head, since I writ last to you, and so I know you expect an Account of the most considerable things that have occurred to me since my last from *Milan*. Twenty miles from *Milan* we past through *Lodi*, a miserable Garrison, tho a Frontier Town; but indeed, the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as those of the other *Princes* of *Italy*, shew, that they are not very apprehensive of one another; and when one passes through those places, which are represented in *History*, as places of great strength, capable of resisting a long Siege, he must acknowledge, that the sight of them brings the Idea that he had conceived of them, a great many degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was so long the seat of War, could not stand out against a good Army now so many dayes, as it did then years. The Garrison of *Crema*, which is the first of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better than that of *Lodi*, only

only the People in the *Venetian Dominion* live happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The *Senate* sends *Podesta's*, much like the *Bailifs* of the *Switzers*, who order the Justice and the Civil Government of the *Jurisdiction* assigned them: There is also a *Captain-General*, who hath the *Military Authority* in his hands; and these two are Checks upon one another; as the *Bassa's* and the *Cadi's* are among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema*, the Town is so small, that both these are in one person. We were there in the time of the *Fair*; *Linnen Cloath*, and *Cheese* (which tho it goes by the name of the *Parmesan*, is made chiefly in *Lodi*) are the main Commodities of the Fair. The magnificence of the *Podesta* appeared very extraordinary; for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches, in which he and his Lady rode, were both extraordinary rich: his was a huge Bed-coach, all the out-side black Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe, lined with black Damask, flowered with Gold. From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Brescia*, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth: here they make the best *Barrils* for *Pistols* and *Muskets* of all *Italy*: there are great Iron Works near it; but the *War* with the *Turk* had occasioned an order, that none might be sold without a Permission from *Venice*. They are building a Noble *Dome* at *Brescia*: I was shewed a *Nunnery* there, which is now under a great Disgrace; some *years* ago, a new *Bishop* coming thither, began with the Visitation of

that *Nunnery*: he discovered two *Vaults*, by one, *Men* came ordinarily into it: and by another, the *Nuns* that were big, went and lay in of Child-bed: when he was examining the *Nuns* severely concerning those *Vaults*, some of them told him, that his own *Priests* did much worse. He shut up the *Nuns*, so that those who are professed live still there, but none come to take the Vail: and by this means the House will soon come to an end. The *Cittadel* lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here, and in *Crema*, the Towns have begun a Complement within these last ten or twelve years to their *Podesta's*, which is a matter of great Ornament to their *Palaces*, but will grow to a vast charge; for they erect *Statues* to their *Podesta's*: and this being once begun, must be carried on; otherwise those to whom the like honour is not done, will resent it as a high affront; and the Revenges of the *Noble Venetians*, are dreadful things to their Subjects. This name of *Podesta* is very ancient; for in the *Roman* times, the chief *Magistrates* of the lesser *Towns* were called the *Potestas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal*, *Fidenarum Gabiorumve esse Potestas*.

From *Brescia*, the beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted; for as all the way from *Milan* to *Brescia* is as one Garden, so here on the one side we come under the *Mountains*, and we pass by the *Lake* of *Guarda*, which is forty miles long, and where it is broadest, is twenty miles over: The *Miles* indeed, all *Lombardy* over, are extream short; for I walkt often

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four or five Miles in a walk, and I found a thousand paces made their common Mile; but in *Tuscany* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the mile is fifteen hundred paces. We pass through a great Heath for seven or eight miles on this side of *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vast Town, and much of it well built; there are many rich *Churches* in it: but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little money going, that it is not easie here to change a *Pistol*, without taking their Coyn of base Alloy, which doth not pass out of the *Veronese*: for this seems a strange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to suffer those small *States*, to retain still a Coyn peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the *Amphitheater*, one of the least of all that the *Romans* built, but the best preserved; for the most of the great Stones of the outside are pickt out; yet the great flopping *Vault*, on which the rows of the seats are laid, is intire; the rows of the seats are also intire, they are four and forty Rows; every Row is a foot and half high, and as a much in breadth, so that a Man sits conveniently in them under the feet of those of the higher Row: & allowing every Man a foot and a half, the whole *Amphitheather* can hold twenty three thousand Persons. In the *Vaults*, under the Rows of Seats, were the stalls of the *Beasts* that were presented to entertain the Company: the thickness of the Building, from the outward Wall to the lowest Row of Seats, is ninty foot: But this Noble Remnant of *Antiquity*, is so often, and so

copiously described; that I will say no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Museum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of the *Count Muscardo*, where there is a whole Apartment of *Rooms*, all furnished with *Antiquities*, and *Rarities*. There are some old Inscriptions, made by two Towns in *Afrock*, to the honour of *M. Crassus*. There is a great Collection of *Medals* and *Medaillons*, and of the *Roman Weights*, with their Instruments for their *Sacrifices*; there are many Curiosities of Nature, and a great Collection of *Pictures*, of which many are of *Paulo Veronese*'s Hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona*, that riseth up in Terrasses the whole height of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Inscriptions, which belongs to *Count Giusto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza*, which is thirty miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy*; for there is all the way as it were a Succession of Gardens; the ground is better cultivated here, than I saw it in any other place of *Italy*. But the *Wine* is not good; for at the roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine, which grows up winding about the Tree, to which it joyns; but the Soil is too rich to produce a rich Wine; for that requires a dry ground. There is near the *Lake* of *Guarda* a very extraordinary *Wine*, which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best sort of *Canary*; it is not made till *Christmas*, and from thence it carries the Name of *Holy Wine*; and it is not to be drunk till *Midsummer*; for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear; but I have not

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marked down how long it may be kept; we had it there for a Groat an *English* quart; I wondred that they did not trade with it. All the *Cattel* of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their *Hogs* are black, except in the *Bolognese*, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the reasons of these things: it is certain, *Hogs-Flesh* in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France* and *England*, whether the truffs on which they feed much in Winter, occasion this or not, I know not; the Husks of the pressed Grapes is also a mighty nourishment to them; but Cattel of that grayish colour, are certainly weaker. The Carriage of *Italy* is generally performed by them; and this is very hard work in *Lombardy*, when it hath rained ever so little; for the ground being quite level, and there being no raised High-wayes, or Cause-wayes, the Carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath still more of its ancient liberty reserved than any of these Towns, as *Padua* hath less; for it delivered it self to the *Venetians*, whereas the other disputed long with it, and brought it often very low: one sees the marks of Liberty in *Vincenza*, in the Riches of their *Palaces* and *Churches*, of which many are newly built; they have a modern *Theater*, made in imitation of the ancient *Roman Theaters*. *Count Valarano's* Gardens at the Port of *Verona*, is the finest thing of the Town; there is in it a very noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, some as big as a Mans Body, but those are covered all the Winter long; for in this appears the sensible difference of

Lombardy from those parts of *Italy*, that lie to the South of the *Apenins*, that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great Boxes, as we do in *England*; that so they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from the Breeses, that blow sometimes so sharp from the *Alps*, that otherwise they would kill those delicate Plants: whereas in *Tuscany*, they grow as other Trees in their Gardens; and in the *Kingdom of Naples*, they grow wild, without any Care or Cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holy-day, and there I saw a preparation for a Procession that was to be in the afternoon: I did not wonder at what a *French Papist* said to me, that he could hardly bear the *Religion of Italy*, the *Idolatry* in it was so gross. The *Statue* of the *Virgin* was of Wood, so finely painted, that I thought the head was Wax; it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was set full of Flowers: how they did when it was carried about, I do not know; but in the morning all people ran to it, and said their prayers to it, and Kissed the Ground before it, with all the appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* it is eighteen miles to *Padua*, all like a Garden: here one sees the decays of a vast City, which was once one of the biggest of all *Italy*; the compass is the same that it was, but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and Houses there go almost for nothing; the Air is extream good, and there is so great a plenty of all things, except Money, that a little Money goes a great way. The *University* here,

here, tho ſo much ſupported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty *Profeſſors*, yet ſinks extreamly: there are no men of any great Fame now in it: and the quarrels among the *Students* have driven away moſt of the *Strangers* that uſed to come and ſtudy here; for it is not ſafe to ſtir abroad here after Sun ſet: The number of the *Palaces* here is incredible, and tho the *Nobility* of *Padua* is almoſt quite ruined, yet the Beauty of their ancient *Palaces* ſhews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the ancient Quarrels that were in all thoſe conquered Cities continue ſtill among them; for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their *Revenges* afterwards, both comes under the *Bando* by this means, and the Confiſcation goes to the *Senate*. At ſome times of *Grace*, when the Senate wants Money, and offers a pardon to all that will compound for it, the numbers of the guilty perſons are incredible. In *Vinçenza*, and the Country that belongs to it, I was aſſured by *Monſieur Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many years a *Profeſſor* in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thouſand pardoned at the laſt *Grace*; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his word. The *Nobility* of *Padua*, and of the other *Towns*, ſeem not to ſee what a profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their Families: for one *Family* in the ſame mans time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thouſand *Ducats* Revenue, to leſs than three thouſand, by its falling at ſeveral times

under

under the *Bando*: But their Jealousies and their Revenges are pursued by them with so much Vigor, that when these are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the *Amphitheater*, tho nothing but the outward Wall stands: There is here, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the *City*, and an outward, without that, called the *Burgo*; but tho there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight miles in compass; it lies almost round: The publick *Hall* is the Noblest of *Italy*: The *Dome* is an ancient and mean Building: But the Church of *St. Anthony*, especially the *Holy Chappel* in it, where the *Saint* lies, is one of the best pieces of modern Sculpture; for round the Chappel, the chief *Miracles* in the legend of that Saint are represented in *Mezzo Rilievo*, in a very surprizing manner: The devotion that is paid to this *Saint*, all *Lombardy* over, is amazing; he is called by way of excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his sake: But among the little Vows that hang without the Holy Chappel, there is one that is the highest pitch of *Blasphemy* that can be imagined. *Exaudit*, speaking of the Saint, *quos non audit Ipse Deus*; *he hears those whom God himself doth not hear*. *St. Justina* is a Church so well ordered within, the *Architecture* is so beautiful, it is so well inlightned, and the *Cupulo's* are so advantageously placed, that if the outside answered the inside, it would be one of the best *Churches of Italy*; but the Building is of Brick, and

and it hath no Frontispiece; there are many new Altars, made as fine as they are Idolatrous, all full of *Statues* of Marble. This *Abbey* hath a hundred thousand *Ducats* of Revenue, and so by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the *Benedictine Order*. *Cardinal Barberigo* is *Bishop* here; he seems to set *St. Carlo* before him as his pattern; he hath founded a Noble *Seminary* for the Secular *Priests*; he lives in a constant discipline himself, and endeavours to reform his *Clergy* all he can; but he is now in ill terms with his *Canons*, who are all *Noble Venetians*, and so allow themselves great liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged: he is charitable to a high degree, and is in all respects a very extraordinary man.

In the *Venetian Territory* their subjects live eale and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their *Quarrels*; but tho the Taxes are not high, they oppress their Tenants so severely, that the Peasants live most miserably; yet on all hands round about them, the Oppressions being more intolerable, they know not whither to go for ease; whereas on the contrary, the miseries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly those of the *Ecclesiastical State*, send in an increase of people among them, so that they are well stockt with people; but the *Venetians* are so jealous of their Subjects understanding *Military* matters, which may dispose them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their *Wars*; this jealousy is the true ground of that maxim, tho another is pretended, that is more plausible, which is, their Care of

their

their own people; whom they ſtudy to preſerve, and therefore they hire Strangers, rather than expoſe their Subjects. It is certain, a revolt here, were no hard matter to effectuate; for the *Garriſons* and *Fortifications* are ſo ſlight, that thoſe great *Towns* could eaſily ſhake off their yoke, if it were not for the Factions that ſtill reign among them, by which one party would chuſe rather to expoſe the other to the rigor of the *Inquiſitors*, than concur with them in aſſerting their Liberty; and the *Inquiſitors* in ſuch caſes proceed ſo ſecretly, and yet ſo effectually, that none dares truſt another with a Secret of ſuch conſequence; and the oppreſſed *Nobility* of thoſe *States*, retain ſtill ſo much of their old and unſubdued Inſolence, and treat ſuch as are under them ſo cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as ſecure in thoſe Conqueſts, as if they had many ſtrong *Cittadels*, and numerous *Garriſons* ſpread up and down among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many *Palaces* of the Noble *Venetians* on both ſides of the River, built with ſo great a variety of *Architecture*, that there is not one of them like another; there is alſo the like diverſity in the laying out of their Gardens; and here they retire during the hot months; and ſome allow themſelves all the exceſſes of diſſolute Liberty that can poſſibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina* which is at the mouth of the *Brent*, we paſs for five or ſix miles on the *Lagunes*, or ſhallows, to *Venice*; theſe ſhallows

ſink

ſink of late ſo much, that the preſerving *Venice*, ſtill an *Iſland*, is like to become as great a charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the *Sea* is to the *Dutch*; for they uſe all poſſible induſtry to cleanſe the Channels of their *Lagunes*, and to keep them full of Water: and yet many think, that the Water hath failed ſo much in this laſt age, that if it continues to abate at the ſame rate, within an age or two more, *Venice* may become a part of the *Terra firma*. It is certainly the moſt ſurprizing ſight in the whole World, to ſee ſo vaſt a *City*, ſituated thus in the *Sea*, and ſuch a number of *Iſlands* ſo united together by *Bridges*, brought to ſuch a regular figure, the *Piles* ſupplying the want of earth to build on, and all ſo nobly built, which is of all the things that one can ſee the moſt amazing. And tho this *Republick* is much ſunk from what it was, both by the great Loſſes they have ſuffered in their *Wars* with the *Turks*, and by the great decay of *Trade*, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vaſt plenty of all things in this place. I will not offer to deſcribe neither the *Church* nor the *Palace* of *S. Mark*, which are too well known to need a long digreſſion to be made for them; the painting of the Walls, and the roofs of the Halls, and publick Rooms in the *Palace*, are of vaſt value: Here I ſaw that Story of *Pope Alexander* the III. treading on the neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbaroſſa*. The Nobleneſs of the Stair-caſes, the Riches of the Halls, and the Beauty of the whole

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[illegible] Building, [illegible] much [illegible] [illegible] of those that walk [illegible], [illegible] leave their marks behind them, as if this were rather a common House of [illegible], than so Noble a *Palace*: And the great Hall, where the whole body of the *Nobility* meet, in the *Great Council*, hath nothing but the roof and walls that answers to such an Assembly; for the Seats are liker the benches of an Auditory of Schollars, than of so glorious a Body. When the two sides of this *Palace* are built as the third, which is the most hid, it will be one of the gloriousest *Palaces* that the World can shew. The two sides that are most seen, the one facing the square of St. *Mark*, and the other the great *Canale*, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble, but the *War* of *Candy* put a stop to the Building. *St. Mark's Church* hath nothing to recommend it; but its great Antiquity, and the vast Riches of the Building, it is dark and low; but the pavement is so rich a Mosaick, and the whole roof is also Mosaick, the outside and inside are of such excellent Marble, the Frontispice is adorned with so many Pillars of *Porphiry* and *Jasper*, and above all with the four Horses of *Corinthian* Brass, that *Tiridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Constantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the gilding is still very bright, that when all this is considered, one doth no where see so much cost brought together. I did not see the *Gospel* of *St. Mark*,

Physician there, told me, that by a particular order, he was suffered to open it; he told me it was all writ in *Capital Letters*, but the Characters were so worn out, that tho he could discern the Ends of some Letters, he could not see enough to help him to distinguish them, or to know whether the M. S. was in *Greek* or *Latin*. I will not say one Word of the *Arsenals*, for as I saw it in a wretched State, the War that is now on foot having disfurnished a great deal of it, so it hath been often described; and it is known to be the Noblest *Magazine*, the best ordered, and of the greatest variety, that is in the whole World; and true it is all that this *State* hath, so that if the *Magazines* of other *Princes*, which lie spread up and down in the different Places of their Dominions, were gathered together, they would make a much greater shew. The Noblest *Convent* of *Venice* is that of the *Dominicans*, called *Saint John* and *Saint Paul*; the Church and Chappels are vastly rich: there is one of *Saint Luke's Madonna* here, as they pretend; the *Dormitory* is very great; the Room for the *Library*, and every thing in it, except the *Books*, is extream fine. But *Saint George's*, which is a *Convent* of the *Benedictines*, in an *Isle* intirely possessed by them, over against *Saint Marks* square, is much the richest: the *Church* is well contrived, and well adorned: and not only the

whole Building is very Magnificent, but which is more extraordinary at *Venice*, they have a large Garden, and noble walks in it. The *Redemptore* and the *Salute*, are two Noble *Churches*, that are the effects of Vows that the *Senate* made when they were afflicted with the *Plague*; the latter is much the finer, it is to the *Virgin*, and the other is only to our *Saviour*: so naturally doth the *Devotion* of that *Church* carry it higher for the *Mother* than the *Son*. It is true, the *Salute* is later than the other, so no wonder if the Architecture and the riches exceed that which is more ancient. The School of *Saint Roch*, and the Chappel, and Hall, are full of great pieces of *Tintoret's*: a *Cena*, of *Paulo Veronese* in the Refectory of *St. George*, and the Picture of *St. Peter* the Martyr of *Titians*, are the most celebrated pieces of *Venice*: *Duke Pesaro's* Tomb in the *Frairy* is the Noblest I ever saw. But if the riches of all the *Convents*, and the Parish *Churches* of *Venice* amased me, the Fronts especially, many of which are of white Marble, beautified with several *Statues*; the meanness of the *Library* of *S. Mark* did no less surprize me. There are in the Antichamber to it, Statues of vast value, and the whole Roof of the Library is composed of several pieces of the greatest Masters put in several Frames: but the Library hath nothing answerable to the Riches of the Case; for the *Greek Manuscripts* are all modern, I turned over a great many, and saw none above five hundred years old:

I was indeed told, that the laſt *Library-keeper* was accuſed for having conveyed away many of their *Manuſcripts*; and that four years ago being clapt in priſon for this by the *Inquiſitors*, he, to prevent further Severities, poiſoned himſelf. I went to the *Convent* of the *Servi*; but I found *Father Paul* was not in ſuch conſideration there, as he is elſewhere. I asked for his Tomb, but they made no account of him, and ſeemed not to know where it was; it is true, the perſon to whom I was recommended, was not in *Venice*, ſo perhaps they refined too much in this matter: I had great Diſcourſe with ſome at *Venice* concerning the *Memorials* out of which *F. Paul* drew his *Hiſtory*, which are no doubt all preſerved with great care in their *Archives*; and ſince the Tranſactions of the *Council of Trent*, as they are of great Importance, ſo they are become now much controverted, by the different Relations that *F. Paul*, and *Cardinal Pallavicini* have given the World of that matter; the only way to put an end to all Diſputes in matter of Fact, is to print the *Originals* themſelves. A Perſon of great Credit at *Venice*, promiſed to me, to do his utmoſt, to get that Propoſition ſet on foot, tho the great Exactneſs that the *Government* there hath alwayes affected, as to the matter of their *Archives*, is held ſo ſacred, that this made him apprehend, they would not give way to any ſuch ſearch. The Affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long Converſation that I had with a perſon of great Eminence at *Venice*,

that as he was long at *Constantinople*, so he was learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*; he told me, he was at *Constantinople* when the Inquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek Church* was set on foot, occasioned by the famous Dispute between *Mr. Arnaud* and *Mr. Claude*, he being a zealous *Roman Catholick*, was dealt with to assist in that business; but being a Man of great Honour and Sincerity, he excused himself, and said, he could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad Opinion of the *Greeks*; and he told me, *That none of their* Priests *were more inveterate Enemies to the* Church of Rome *than those that were bred up at* Rome; for they, to free themselves of the prejudices that their Countreymen are apt to conceive against them, because of their Education among the *Latines*, do affect to shew an Opposition to the *Latin Church* beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me, that he knew the Ignorance and Corruption of the *Greeks* was such, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own *Church*, so a very little Money, or the hope of Protection from any of the *Ambassadors* that came from the *West*, would prevail with them to sign any thing that could be desired of them. He added one thing, that tho he firmly believed *Transubstantiation* himself, he did not think they believed it, let them say what they pleased themselves; he took his measures of the Doctrine of their *Church*, rather from what they did, than from what they said: For their *Rites* not being changed now for a great many ages,

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were the true Indications of the Doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the Tradition of their Doctrine, and very apt to prevericate when they saw Advantages or Protection set before them; therefore he concluded, that since they did not adore the *Sacrament* after the Consecration, that was an evident sign that they did not believe the *Corporal Presence*; and was of a force well able to balance all their Subscriptions: He told me, he was often scandalized to see them open the Bag in which the *Sacrament* was preserved, and shew it with no sort of respect, no more than when they shewed any *Manuscript*; and he looked on *Adoration* as such a necessary Consequent of *Transubstantiation*, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a *Church* that did not practice the former. To this I will add what an Eminent *Catholick* at *Paris* told me; he said, the *Originals* of those Attestations, were in too exact and too correct a stile, to have been formed in *Greece*; he assured me, they were penned at *Paris*, by one that was a Master of the Purity of the *Greek* Tongue. I do not name these Persons, because they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was the famous young *Woman* that spake five *Tongues* well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two; she passed Doctor of Physick at *Padua*, according to the ordinary Forms; but which was beyond all, she was a person of such extraordinary Vertue and Piety, that she is

ſpoken of as a Saint; ſhe died ſome Months before I came to *Venice*. She was of the noble Family of the *Cornaro's*, tho not of the three chief Branches, which are *Saint Maurice*, Saint *Paul*, and *Calle*, who are deſcended from the three Brothers of the renowned *Queen* of *Cyprus*, but the diſtinction of her Family was *Piſcopia*. Her extraordinary merit made all people unwilling to remember the blemiſh of her deſcent of the one ſide; for tho the *Cornaro's* reckon themſelves a ſize of *Nobility* beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Gondalier's* Daughter ſo long, that he had ſome Children by her, at laſt for their ſakes married the Mother, and payed a conſiderable Fine to ſave the forfeiture of *Nobility*, which his Children muſt have undergone, by reaſon of the meanneſs of the Mothers birth. The *Cornaro's* carry it ſo high, that many of the Daughters of that *Family* have made themſelves *Nuns*, becauſe they thought their own Name was ſo Noble, that they could not induce themſelves to change it with any other; and when lately one of that Family married the Heir of the *Sagredo*, which is alſo one of the antienteſt Families, that was extream rich, and ſhe had ſcarce any portion at all, (for the *Cornaro's* are now very low) ſome of their Friends came to wiſh them joy of ſo advantagious a Match; but they very coldly rejected the Complement, and bid the others go and wiſh the *Sagredo's* joy, ſince they thought the Advantage was wholly of their ſide.

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There are of the truly Ancient Noble Families of *Venice*, four and twenty yet remaining; and even among these, there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in rank: since the first Formation of their *Senate*, they have created many *Senators*. In their Wars with *Genua* they conferred that honour on thirty Families; several of their *Generals* have had that honour given them as a reward of their service: They have also offered this honour to some Royal Families; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon*, were Nobles of *Venice*; and *Henry* the III. when he came through *Venice* from *Poland*, to take possession of the Crown of *France*, went and sate among them, and drew his *Ballot* as a Noble *Venetian*; many *Popes* have procured this honour for their *Nephews*. Only the *Barberines* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without their asking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without the others asked it, and so it stuck at this. But during the *War* of *Candy*, Cardinal *Francis Barberin* gave twelve thousand *Crowns* a year towards the War, and the temper found for making them *Noble Venetians* was, that the *Queen Mother* of *France*, moved the *Senate* to grant it. In all the Creations of *Senators* before the last War of *Candy*, they were free; and the Considerations were, either great Services, or the great Dignity of those on whom they bestowed this Honour. Those new Families are divided into those that are called *Ducal Families*, and those that were called simply *New*

Families; the Reason of the former designation is not vigilantly understood; but one that knew all that related to this Constitution particularly well, gave me a good account of it. That which naturally occurs as the Reason of it, *is*, that all those Families, that are called *Ducal*, have had the *Dukedom* in their Houses. But as all the *old Families* have had the same Honour, though they carry not that Title, so some of the *new Families* have also had it, that yet are not ancalled *Ducal*. Others say, that those Families that have had branches, who have been made *Dukes*, without their being first *Procuratori di S. Marco*, or that have been chosen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called *Ducal*. But the true Account of this is, that from the year 1545. to the year 1620. for a hundred and seventy years, there was a combination made among those *new* Families to preserve the *Dukedom* still among them. For the *old* Families carrying it high, and excluding the *new* Families from the chief Honours, nineteen of the *new* Families entred into mutual Ingagements to exclude the ancient *Nobility*. It is true, they made the *Dukedom* sometimes fall on some of the *new* Families that were not of this Association; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were shut out, and that it appeared, that they bore the chief sway in the Election. This Combination was a thing known to the very people, tho the *Inquisitors* did all they could to break it, or at least to hide it, so that

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I never met with it in any of their Authors: But this failed in the year 1612. when *Memmio* was chosen *Duke*, who was descended of one of the ancient *Nobility*, which was so great a mortification to the *Case Duazie*, that one of them (*Veniero*) hanged himself, by the Bridge to which that Disgrace drove him, yet his man came into the room in time, before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time, One of the *Barbo's*, two of the *Cornaro's*, and one of the *Contarini's*, and the present Prince, of the *Justiniani*, the first of that family that hath had that honour, have been *Dukes*, who are all of the ancient Families: So that this Faction is now so intirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in *Venice* it self) that it was ever amongst them: and thus time, and other *Accidents* bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Industry could produce. For that which all the Endeavours of the *Inquisitors* could not compass, was brought about of it self. It is true, the Factions in *Venice* are tho violent enough in the persons of those who manage them, yet are not derived by them, as an Inheritance to their Posterity, as it was among the *Florentines*; who tho they value themselves as a size of men much above the *Venetians*, whom they despise as a phlegmatick and dull race of people, yet shewed how little they understood with all their vivacity, to conduct their *State*; since by their domestick Heats they lost their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the wisdom still to pre-

serve. This Faction of the *Case Ducale* was perhaps willing to let the matter fall, for they lost more than they got by it; for the Ancient Families in revenge set themselves against them, and excluded them from all the other advantagious Imployments of the *State*. For the others being only united in that single point relating to the *Dukedom*, the Ancient Families let them carry it, but in all other Competitions they set up alwayes such Competitors against the Pretenders that were of the *Ducal Families*, that were much more esteemed than these were, so that they shut them out of all the best Offices of the *Republick*. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been still kept up, might in Conclusion have proved fatal to their Liberty. It is indeed a Wonder to see, the Dignity of the *Duke* so much courted, for he is only a Prisoner of State, tyed up to such Rules, so severely restrained and shut up as it were in an Apartment of the *Palace of St. Mark*, that it is not strange to see some of the greatest Families, in particular the *Cornaro*'s decline it. All the Family, if ever so numerous, must retire out of the *Senate*, when a *Duke* is chosen out of it, only one that is next to him of kin sits still, but without a Vote. And the only Real Privledge that the *Duke* hath, is, that he can of himself, without communicating with the *Savii*, propose matters, either to the *Council of Ten*, to the *Senate*, or to the *Great Council*; whereas all other propositions must be first offered to the *Savii*, and examined by them, who have a sort of *Tribu-*

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nitian Power to reject what they diſlike; and tho they cannot hinder the *Duke* to make a Propoſition, yet they can mortifie him when he hath made it; they can hinder it to be voted; and after it is voted, they can ſuſpend the execution of it till it is examined over again: And a *Duke*, that is of an active Spirit, muſt reſolve to indure many of theſe Afflictions; and it is certain, that the *Savii* do ſometimes affect to ſhew the Greatneſs of their Authority, and exerciſe a ſort of Tyranny in the rejecting of Propoſitions, when they intend to humble thoſe that make them: yet the greateſt part of the beſt Families court this Honour of *Dukedom* extreamly. When *Sagredo* was upon the point of being choſen *Duke*, there was ſo violent an Out-cry againſt it over all *Venice*, becauſe of the Diſgrace, that they thought would come on the *Republick*, if they had a *Prince*, whoſe Noſe had miſcarried in ſome unfortunate Diſorders; the *Senate* complyed ſo far with this Averſion, that the people teſtified, that tho the *Inquiſitors* took care to hang or drown many of the chief of the Mutineers, yet they let the deſign for *Sagredo* fall: Upon which he was ſo much diſguſted, that he retired to a houſe he hath in the *Terra firma*, and never appeared more at *Venice*: During which time of his Retirement, he writ two Books, the one *Memorie Ottomaniche*, which is Printed; and he is accounted the beſt of all their modern Authors. The other was *Memoires of the Government and Hiſtory of Venice*, which

hath

hath never been Printed; and some say, it is too sincere, and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their *Archives*. It hath been a sort of Maxim now for some time, not to chuse a married man to be *Duke*, for the Coronation of a *Dutchess* goes high, and hath cost above a hundred thousand *Ducats*. Some of the ancient Families have affected the Title of *Prince*, and have called their branches, *Princes of the Blood*; and tho the *Cornaro's* have done this more than any other, yet others upon the account of some *Principalities*, that their Ancestors had in the *Islands* of the *Archipelago*, have also affected those vain Titles: But the *Inquisitors* have long ago obliged them, to lay aside all those high Titles; and such of them as boast too much of their blood, find the dislike which that brings on them very sensibly; for whensoever they pretend to any great Imployments, they find themselves alwayes excluded. When an Election of *Ambassadors* was proposed, or of any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in those terms, that the *Council* must chuse one of its *Principal Members* for such an imployment: But because this lookt like a term of Distinction among the *Nobility*, they changed it five and twenty years ago; and instead of *Principal*, they use now the term *Honourable*, which comprehends the whole body of their *Nobility*, without any distinction. It is at *Venice*, in the *Church*, as well as in the *State*, that the *Head* of the *Body* hath a great Title;

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and particular Honours done him; whereas in the mean while this is a meer Pageantry, and under these big words there is lodged only a light shadow of Authority; for their *Bishop* has the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the *Duke* is called their *Prince*, and his *Serenity*, and hath his name stampt upon their Coyn; so the *Patriarch* with all this high Title, hath really no Authority: For not only *Saint Mark's Church* is intirely exempted from his jurisdiction, and is immediately subject to the *Duke*, but his Authority is in all other things so subject to the *Senate*, and so regulated by them, that he hath no more power, than they are pleased to allow him: So that the *Senate* is as really the supream Governour over all persons, and in all causes, as the *Kings* of *England* have pretended to be in their own *Dominions* since the *Reformation*: But besides all this, the *Clergy of Venice* have a very extraordinary sort of Exemption, and are a sort of a body like a *Presbytery* independent of the *Bishop*: The *Curacies* are chosen by the Inhabitants of every Parish, and this makes that no *Noble Venetian* is suffered to pretend to any *Curacy*; for they think it below that dignity, to suffer one of their body, to engage in a competition with one of a lower order, and to run the hazard of being rejected. I was told, the manner of those Elections was the most scandalous thing possible; for the several Candidates appear on the day of Election, and set out their own Merits, and defame the other Pretenders in the fowlest Language, and in the most scurrilous manner imi-

imaginable; the ſecrets of all their Lives are publiſht in moſt reproachful terms, and nothing is ſo abject and ridiculous, that is not put in practice on thoſe occaſions. There is a ſort of an Aſſociation among the *Curats* for judging of their common concerns, and ſome of the *Laity* of the ſeveral Pariſhes aſſiſt in thoſe *Courts*, ſo that here is a real *Presbytery*. The great Libertinage, that is ſo undecently practiſed by moſt ſorts of people at *Venice*, extends it ſelf to the *Clergy* to ſuch a degree, that tho Ignorance and Vice, ſeem the only indelible Characters, that they carry generally over all *Italy*, yet thoſe appear here in a much more conſpicuous manner than elſewhere, and upon theſe popular elections all comes out. The *Nuns* of *Venice* have been under much ſcandal for a great while; there are ſome *Nunneries* that are as famous for their ſtrictneſs and exactneſs to their Rules, as others are for the Liberties they take: chiefly thoſe of *Saint Zachary* and *Saint Laurence*, where none but *Noble Venetians* are admitted, and where it is not ſo much as pretended, that they have retired for Devotion; but it is owned to be done meerly, that they might not be too great a Charge to their Family: They are not vailed, their neck and breaſt is bare, and they receive much company: but that which I ſaw, was in a publick Room, in which there were many *Grills* for ſeveral Parlors, ſo that the converſation is very confuſed; for there being a different company at every *Grill*, and the *Italians* ſpeaking generally very loud, the noiſe of ſo many loud Talkers,

Talkers, is very disagreeable. The *Nuns* talk much, and very ungracefully, and allow themselves a liberty in Railying, that other places could not bear. About four years ago the *Patriarch* intended to bring in a Reform into those Houses; but the *Nuns* of *S. Laurence*, with whom he began, told him plainly, they were *Noble Venetians*, who had chosen that way of life as more convenient for them, but they would not subject themselves to his Regulations; yet he came and would shut up their house, so they went to set fire to it; upon which the *Senate* interposed, and ordered the *Patriarch* to desist. There is no *Christian State* in the World, that hath expressed a Jealousie of Church-mens getting into the publick *Councils* so much as the *Venetians*; for a *Noble Venetian*, that goes into Ordres, loses thereby his right of going to vote in the *great Council*; so when any of them are promoted to be *Cardinals*, the whole kindred and family must (during their lives) withdraw from the *great Council*, and are also incapable of all imployments: And by a clause, which they added when they received the *Inquisition*, which seemed of no great consequence, they have made it to become a *Court* absolutely subject to them; for it being provided, that the *Inquisitors* should do nothing but in the presence of such as should be Deputed by the *Senate*, to be the Witnesses of their proceedings, those Deputies either will not come but

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when they think fit, or will not ſtay longer than they are pleaſed with their proceedings; ſo that either their abſence, or their withdrawing, diſſolves the *Court*: for a Citation cannot be made, a Witneſs cannot be examined, nor the leaſt point of Form carried on, if the Deputies of the *Senate* are not preſent: and thus it is, that tho there is a *Court of Inquiſition* at *Venice*, yet there is ſcarce any perſon brought into trouble by it; and there are many of the *Proteſtant Religion* that live there without any trouble: and tho there is a *Congregation* of them there, that hath their exerciſes of *Religion* very regularly, yet the *Senate* gives them no trouble. It is true, the *Hoſty's* not being carried about in *Proceſſion*, but ſecretly by the *Prieſt* to the Sick, makes that this uneaſy diſcrimination of *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*, doth not offer it ſelf here, as in other places; for the ſtraitneſs of the ſtreets, and the Channels through which one muſt go almoſt every foot, makes that this could not be done in *Venice* as it is elſewhere; and from *Venice* this Rule is carried over their whole *Territory*, tho the like Reaſon doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*. The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of the matters of *Religion* to a ſcandal, and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them; ſo that all that vaſt pomp in their Ceremonies, and wealth in their *Churches*, is affected rather as a point of Magnificence, or a matter of Emulation among Families, than that *Superſtition* hath here ſuch a power over the Spirits of the People, as it hath

hath elsewhere: for the *Atheism* that is received by many here, is the dullest, and coursest thing that can be imagined. The young *Nobility* are so generally corrupted in their Morals, and so given up to a most supine Ignorance of all sort of knowledge, that a man cannot easily imagin to what a height this is grown; and for *Military Courage*, there is scarce so much as the Ambition of being thought brave remaining among the greater part of them. It seemed to me a strange thing, to see the *Broglio*, so full of graceful young *Senators* and *Nobles*, when there was so glorious a *War* on foot with the *Turks*; but instead of being heated in point of Honour to hazard their lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of Folly, for them to go and hazard it, when a little Money can hire Strangers, that do it on such easie terms; and thus their Arms are in the hands of strangers, while they stay at home managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and dissolving their spirits among their *Courtisans*. And the Reputation of their Service is of late years so much sunk, that it is very strange to see so many come to a service so decryed, where there is so little care had of the *Souldiers*, and so little regard had to the *Officers*: the Arrears are so slowly pay'd, and the Rewards are so scantly distributed, that if they do not change their Maxims, they may come to feel this very sensibly; for as their Subjects are not acquainted with Warlike matters, so their *Nobility* have no sort of Ambition that way, and strangers are

extreamly diſguſted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of affairs that they owe their Safety; for the Feebleneſs of all their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the *Emperour*, the *King of Spain*, the *Pope*, and the *Duke of Mantua*, preſerves them from the apprehenſion of an Invaſion; and the Quarrels, and Degeneracy of their Subjects, ſave them from the Fears of a Revolt; but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great Occaſion of the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and in particular of the *Venetian Nobility*, is a Maxim that hath been taken up for ſome conſiderable time, *that for the preſervation of their Families, it is fit that only one of a Family ſhould marry*; to which I will not add, that it is generally believed, that the Wife is in common to the whole Family. By this means the younger Brothers, that have Appointments for Life, and that have no Families that come from them, are not ſtirred up by any Ambition to ſignalize themſelves, or to make Families, and ſo they give way to all the Lazineſs of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it. Whereas the beſt Services done in other *States*, flows from the Neceſſities as well as the Aſpirings of younger Brothers, or their Families, whoſe blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their Pride and Neceſſities puſh them on, to acquire firſt a *Reputation*, and then a *Fortune*: But all this is a Myſtery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend ſo much from the active Spirits of a neceſſitous Nobility, that to lay thoſe to ſleep, they incourage them in all thoſe things that

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may blunt and depreſs their Minds; and youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleaſure, when it is ſo far from being reſtrained, that it is rather puſhed on to all the Licentiouſneſs of unlimitted Diſorders.

Yet I muſt add one thing, that tho *Venice*, is the place in the whole World, where pleaſure is moſt ſtudied, and where the youth have both the greateſt Wealth, and the moſt leiſure to purſue it; yet it is the place that I ever ſaw, where true and innocent Pleaſure is the leaſt underſtood; in which I will make a little Digreſſion, that perhaps will not be unpleaſant. As for the Pleaſures of Friendſhip, or Marriage, they are Strangers to them; for the horrible diſtruſt, in which they all live, of one another, makes, that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but moſt of all in *Venice*: and tho we have been told of ſeveral Stories of celebrated Friendſhips there, yet theſe are now very rare. As for their Wives, they are bred to ſo much ignorance, and they converſe ſo little, that they know nothing but the dull Superſtition on Holydayes, in which they ſtay in the *Churches* as long as they can, and ſo prolong the little Liberty they have, of going abroad on thoſe dayes, as Children do their Hours of play: They are not imployed in their Domeſtick Affairs, and generally they underſtand no ſort of Work; ſo that I was told, that they were the inſipideſt Creatures imaginable: They are perhaps as vitious as in other places, but it is among them down-

right Lewdneſs; for they are not drawn into it, by the intanglements of *Amour*, that inveigle and lead many perſons much farther than they imagined or intended at firſt; but in them, the firſt ſtep, without any preamble or preparative, is downright beaſtlineſs. And an *Italian* that knew the World well, ſaid upon this matter a very lively thing to me, he ſaid, *their jealouſy made them reſtrain their* Daughters, *and their* Wives *ſo much, that they could have none of thoſe Domeſtick Entertainments of Wit, Converſation, and Friendſhip, that the* French *or* Engliſh *have at home*: It is true, thoſe he ſaid hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty; but the *Italians*, by their exceſſive Caution, made that they had none of the true Delights of a Married State; and notwithſtanding all their uneaſy jealouſy, they were ſtill in danger of a contraband *Nobility*; therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain ſatisfaction, than to watch ſo anxiouſly, and thereby have an inſipid Companion, inſtead of a lively Friend, tho ſhe might perhaps have ſome ill moments. As for their houſes, they have nothing convenient at *Venice*; for the *Architecture* is almoſt all the ſame, one Stair-caſe, a Hall that runs along the Body of the Houſe, and Chambers on both hands; but there are no Apartments, no Cloſets or Back-ſtairs; ſo that in houſes that are of an exceſſive Wealth, they have yet no ſort of convenience; Their Bedſteads are of Iron, becauſe of the vermin

that

that their moiſture produces, the bottoms are of boards, upon which they lay ſo many Quilts, that it is a huge ſtep to get up to them; their great Chairs are all upright, without a ſlope in the back, hard in the bottom, and the wood of the Arms is not covered: they mix Water with their Wine in their Hogſheads, ſo that for above half the year, the Wine is either dead or ſour: they do not leaven their bread, ſo that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated, ſo that the Crum is as Dough, when the Cruſt is as hard as a Stone; in all *Inns* they boil meat firſt before it is roaſted, and thus as indeed they make it tender, ſo it is quite taſtleſs, and inſipid: And as for their Land-carriage, all *Lombardy* over, it is extream inconvenient; for their *Coaches* are faſtned to the pearch, which makes them as uneaſie as a Cart: It is true, they begin to have at *Rome*, and *Naples*, Coaches that are faſtned to a ſort of double Pearch, that runs along the bottom of the Coach of both ſides, which are ſo thin, that they ply to the motion of the Coach, and are extream eaſy, but thoſe are not known in *Lombardy*; and beſides this, their *Caleſhes* are open, ſo that one is expoſed to the Sun, and Duſt in *Summer*, and to the Weather in *Winter*: But tho they are covered as ours are, on the other ſide of the *Appenins*, yet I ſaw none that were covered in *Lombardy*: and thus by an enumeration of many of the innocent pleaſures, and Conveniences of Life, it appears, that the *Venetians* purſue ſo violently Forbidden Pleaſures, that they know not how to find

out that which is allowable. Their conſtant practices in the *Broglio* is their chief buſineſs, where thoſe that are neceſſitous, are ſuing for imployments of Advantage, and thoſe that are full of Wealth, take a ſort of pleaſure in croſſing their pretentions, and in imbroiling matters. The *Walk* in which the *Nobility* tread, is left to them; for no others dare walk among them; and they change the ſide of the ſquare of *Saint Mark* as the Sun and the weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that *Mr. Patin* gave me of *Broglio* from the Greek *Peribolaion*, a little corrupted, is not forced; and ſince they make all their parties, and manage all their intrigues in thoſe *Walks*, I am apt to think that *Brails*, *Brovillons* and *Imbroilments* are all derived from the Agitations that are managed in thoſe *Walks*.

As for the laſt created *Nobilty* of *Venice*, I came to know ſome particulars that I have not yet ſeen in any Books, which I ſuppoſe will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreſeen at the beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vaſt Expence in which the length of it ingaged them, they would have abandoned the *Iſle*, rather than have waſted their Treaſure, and debaſed their *Nobility*. This laſt was extream ſenſible to them; for as the Dignity of the rank they hold, is ſo much the more Eminent as it is reſtrained to a ſmall number, ſo all the beſt Imployments and Honours of the *State* belonging to this Body, the admitting ſuch a number into it, as muſt riſe out of ſeventy

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eight Families, was in effect the ſharing their Inheritance among ſo many adopted Brothers. This had been leſs infamous, if they had communicated that Honour only to the ancient *Citizens* of *Venice*, or to the *Nobility* of thoſe *States* that they have ſubdued in the *Terra Firma*; for as there are many *Citizens*, who are as ancient as the *Nobility*, only their Anceſtors not hapning to be of that *Council*, that aſſumed the *Government* about four hundred years ago, they have not been raiſed to that Honour, ſo there had been no Infamy in creating ſome of them to be of the *Nobility*. It had been alſo brought under conſultation long ago, upon the Reduction of thoſe *States* in the *Terra Firma*, whether it was not adviſable, according to the Maxims of the Ancient *Romans*, to communicate that Dignity to ſome of their chief Families, as being the ſureſt Way to give ſome contentment to thoſe *States*, it being alſo a real, as well as a cheap Security, when the chief Families in thoſe Cities, were admitted to a ſhare in all the Honours of the *Republick*. It is true, ſome of the *Nobility* of thoſe *States* thought they had Honour enough by their Birth, and ſo *Zambara* of *Breſcia* refuſed to accept an Honour from thoſe that had robbed his Countrey of its Liberty, yet his poſterity are now of another mind; for they came and bought in this laſt ſale of Honour that which was freely offered to their Anceſtor, and was rejected by him. When the *Senate* found it ſelf extreamly preſſed for Money; during the

War, it was at first proposed, that some Families, to the number of five, might be *Enobled*; they offering sixty thousand *Ducats* if they were *Venetians*, and seventy thousand if they were *Strangers*: There was but one person that opposed this in the *Senate*; so it being passed there, was presented to the *Great Council*; and there it was like to have passed without any difficulty, but one person opposed it with so much vigor, that tho the *Duke* desired him to give over his Opposition, since the Necessities of the War required a great supply, yet he persisted still; and tho one of the *Savii* set forth with Tears the extremities to which the *State* was reduced, he still insisted, and fell upon one Conceit that turned the whole *Council*; he said, they were not sure if *five* Persons could be found, that would purchase that Honour at such a rate, and then it would be a vast Disgrace, to expose the offer of *Nobility* first to sale; and then to the Affront, of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be sold; and by this means he put by the Resolution for that time: But then another Method was taken, that was more honourable, and was of a more extended Consequence. *Labia* was the first that presented a Petition to the *Great Council*, setting forth his Merits towards the *Republick*, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand *Ducats* toward the service of the *State*: this was understood to be the asking to be made *Noble* at that price. *Delfino* said, he thought every man might be well judged

ged worthy, to offer such an assistance to the Publick, and that such as brought that supply, might expect a suitable acknowledgement from the *Senate*, who might afterwards of their own accord bestow that Honour on those that expressed so much Zeal for the Publick: and this would in some sort maintain that degree, which would be too much debased, if it were thus bought and sold: but it seems the Purchasers had no mind to part with their Money, and to leave the Reward to the Gratitude of the Council, so the Petition was granted in plain terms: and the *Nobility* so acquired was not only to descend to the Children of him that was enobled, but to his Brothers, and the whole Family to such a degree. After *Labia*, a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleasant to see in what terms *Merchants*, that came to buy this Honour set forth their Merits, which were, that they had taken care to furnish the *Republick* with such things as were necessary for its preservation. There was a sort of a *Triumvirat* formed, of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were the Brokers, and found out the Merchants: and at last brought down the price from a hundred thousand, to sixty thousand *Ducats*; and no other qualifications were required, if they had money enough: For when *Correge* said to the *Duke*, that he was afraid to ask that Honour for want of Merit, the *Duke* asked him, *if he had a hundred thousand Ducats?* and when the other answered, *the Sum was ready*; the *Duke* told him, *that was a great Merit.* At last seventy eight purchased this Honour, to the

the great regret of *Labia*: who ſaid, that if he had imagined, that ſo many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid ſo high for it, that it ſhould have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchaſers were Ancient and Noble Families; but many others were not only Merchants, but were of the loweſt ſort of them: who as they had inriched themſelves by Trade, did then impoveriſh themſelves by the acquiſition of an Honour, that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher Way of living, ſo it hath not brought them yet in any Advantage to ballance that Loſs: for they are ſo much deſpiſed, that they are generally excluded, when they compete with the ancient *Nobility*; tho this is done with that Diſcretion, that the old Families do not declare always againſt the new; for that would throw the new into a Faction againſt them, which might be a great prejudice to them; for the new, are much more numerous than the old. Another great Prejudice that the *Republick* feels by this great Promotion, is, that the Chief Families of the *Citizens* of *Venice*, who had been long practiſed in the Affairs of *State*, and out of whom the *Envoyes*, the *Secretaries of State*, and the *Chancellour*, that is the Head of the *Citizens*, as well as the *Duke* is the Head of the *Nobility*, are to be choſen, having purchaſed the Chief Honour of the *State*, there is not now a ſufficient Number of capable *Citizens* left for ſerving the *State* in thoſe Imployments; but this defect will be

be redreſt with the help of a little time. But if this increaſe of the *Nobility*, hath leſſened the dignity of the ancient Families, there is a Regulation made in this age, that ſtill preſerves a conſiderable diſtinction of Authority in their hands. Crimes againſt the *State*, when committed by any of the *Nobility*, were alwayes judged by the *Inquiſitors*, and the *Council of Ten*; but all other crimes were judged by the *Council of Forty*. But in the year 1624. one of the *Nobles* was accuſed of *Peculat*, committed in one of their *Governments*, and the *Avogadore*, in the pleading, as he ſet forth his crime, called him a *Rogue* and a *Robber*: yet tho his Crimes were manifeſt, there being but ſix and twenty *Judges* preſent, twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him, this gave great Offence; for tho he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, ſo that his fame could not be reſtored: for the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, and the *Avogadores* (or the *Attorney Generals*) charge, were heard by the people; ſo it was propoſed to make a Difference between the *Nobility*, and the other *Subjects*; and ſince all Tryals before the *Forty* were publick, and the Tryals before the *Ten* were in Secret, it ſeemed fit to remit the *Nobility* to be tryed by the *Ten*: Some foreſaw, that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raiſe the Dignity of the ancient Families (of whom the *Council of Ten* is alwayes compoſed) too high; therefore they oppoſed it upon this ground, that ſince the *Council of Forty* ſent out many Orders to the Governours,

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it would very much leſſen their Authority, if they were not to be the Judges of thoſe, who were obliged to receive their Orders: but to qualify this Oppoſition, a Proviſo was made, that reſerved to the *Council of Forty* a Power to judge of the Obedience that was given to their Orders; but all other Accuſations of the *Nobility* were remitted to the *Council of Ten*: and the Body of the *Nobility* were ſo pleaſed with this diſtinction, that was put between them and the other *Subjects*, that they did not ſee, that this did really inſlave them ſo much the more, and brought them under more danger; ſince thoſe who judge in ſecret have a freer ſcope to their Paſſions, than thoſe whoſe proceedings are Publick, and ſo are in effect judged by the Publick, which is often a very effectual reſtraint upon the Judges themſelves. But the *Council of Ten* being generally in the hands of the great Families; whereas thoſe of all ſorts are of the *Council of Forty*, which was the chief *Judicatory* of the *State*, and is much Ancienter than that of *Ten*: it had been much more wiſely done of them to have been ſtill Judged by the *Forty*: And if they had thought it for their Honour, to have a difference made in the way of Judging the *Nobility*, and the other *Subjects*, it had been more for their Security, to have brought their *Tryals* to this, that whereas the *Forty* judge all other Offenders with *Open Doors*, the *Nobility* ſhould be judged the *Doors being ſhut*, which is a thing they very much deſire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it: For this power of

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Judging the *Nobility*, is now conſidered as the Right of the *Ten*; and if any man would go about to change it, the *Inquiſitors* would be perhaps very quick with him as a Mover of Sedition, and be, in that caſe, both Judge and Party; Yet the *Inquiſitors* being apprehenſive of the diſtaſt, that this might breed in the Body of the *Nobility*, have made a ſort of Regulation, tho it doth not amount to much; which is, that the *Nobility* ſhall be judged before the *Council of Ten* for attrocious Caſes, ſuch as Matters of *State*, the Robbing the Publick, and other enormous Crimes; but that for all other matters, they are to be judged by the *Forty*: yet the *Council of Ten* draws all Caſes before them, and none dare diſpute with them.

But this leads me to ſay a little to you of that part of this *Conſtitution*, which is ſo much cenſured by Strangers; but is really both the greateſt Glory, and the chief Security of this *Republick*, which is, *the unlimited Power of the Inquiſitors*, that extends not only to the Chief of the *Nobility*, but to the *Duke* himſelf, who is ſo ſubject to them, that they may not only give him ſevere Reprimands, but ſearch his Papers, make his Proceſs, and in concluſion, put him to death, without being bound to give an Account of their proceedings, except to the *Council of Ten*. This is the Dread not only of all the *Subjects*, but of the whole *Nobility*, and of all that bear Office in the *Republick*, and makes the greateſt among them tremble, and

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ſo obligeth them to an exact conduct. But tho it is not to be denied, that upon ſome occaſions, they may have been a little too ſudden, particularly, in the known ſtory of *Foſcarini*; yet ſuch unjuſtifiable Severities have occurred ſo ſeldom, that as the wiſdom of this body in making, and preſerving ſuch an Inſtitution, cannot be enough admired, ſo the dextrous conduct of thoſe who manage this vaſt Truſt, ſo as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewiſe highly to be wondered at. In ſhort, the Inſolence, the Factions, the Revenges, the Neceſſities and Ambition, that muſt needs poſſeſs a great many Members of ſo vaſt a body, as is the *Nobility of Venice*, muſt have thrown them often into many fatal Convulſions, if it were not for the Dread in which they all ſtand of this Court; which hath ſo many Spies abroad, chiefly among the *Gondaliers*, who cannot fail to diſcover all the ſecret Commerce of *Venice*: beſides the ſecret Advices that are thrown in at ſo many of thoſe *Lions mouths*, that are in ſeveral places of *St. Mark's Palace*, within which there are *Boxes* that are under the keys of the *Inquiſitors*; ſo that it is ſcarce poſſible for a man to be long in any deſign againſt the *State*, and not to be diſcovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are ſo inexorable, and ſo quick, as well as ſevere in their Juſtice, that the very fear of this is ſo effectual a reſtraint, that perhaps the long preſervation of *Venice*, and of its Liberty, is owing to this ſingle piece of their *Conſti-*

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tution : And the *Inquiſitors* are perſons generally ſo diſtinguiſhed for their Merit, who muſt be all of different Families, and their Authority laſts ſo ſhort a while, that the Advantages of this vaſt Authority, that is lodged with them, are conſtant and viſible; whereas the unhappy inſtances of their being impoſed on, and carrying their ſuſpicions too far, are ſo few, that whenever the *Nobility* grows weary of this Yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the Glory and Proſperity of *Venice* at an end. It was terribly attackt not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Jerom Cornaro* was put to death for his correſpondence with *Spain*; he was not near akin to the great Family of that name, yet the Family thought their Honour was ſo much toucht when one of its remoteſt branches was condemned of Treaſon, that they offered a hundred thouſand *Crowns* to have ſaved him, and by conſequence to have preſerved the Family from that Infamy; but tho this was not accepted; (for he ſuffered as he well deſerved) yet it was ſo viſible, that none of the Family were concerned in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to their Prejudice. But upon the firſt occaſion that offered it ſelf after that, to quarrel with the proceedings of the *Inquiſitors*, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the matter extreamly, and moved for the limiting of their Authority; but the *Great Council* was wiſer than to touch ſo ſacred a part of the *Government*, ſo they retain their Power very intire, but they manage it with

all

all possible Caution. A Forreigner that hath been many years in their service, told me, that the Stories with which *Strangers* were frighted at the Arbitrary Power that was rested in those *Inquisitors*, were slight things, in comparison of the Advantages that they found from it: and after eleven years spent in their service, he said, he never was so much as once sent for to receive a Reprimand from them. And if the *Nobility*, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confess it sincerely to the *Inquisitors*, they are in no danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any main Circumstances of it, their Process will be soon dispatched. These are the most remarkable things that I could pick up, during my stay at *Venice*. I have avoided to say any thing relating to their several *Councils*, *Officers*, and *Judicatories*, or to the other parts of their *Government*, which are to be found in all Books; and the Forms by which they give their *Votes* by *Ballot* are so well known, that it were an abusing of your time, to inlarge my self concerning them; nor was I sufficiently informed, concerning the particulars of the *Sale* of *Nobility* that is now on foot, since this last War with the *Turks*, which hath made them willing to take up once again this easie way of raising of Mony: Nor could I give credit to that of which a person of great Eminence there assured me, that there was a *Poysoner General* in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was imployed by the *Inquisitors* to dispatch those, against whom a publick proceeding would make too great a noise; this I could not

not believe; tho my Author proteſted, that the Brother of one that was ſolicited to accept of the imployment diſcovered it to him. There is no place in the World where Strangers live with more freedom; and I was amazed to ſee ſo little Exactneſs among the Searchers of the Cuſtom-houſe; for though we had a Mullets-load of Trunks, and Portmantles, yet none offered to ask us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us. But the beſt and Nobleſt Entertainment that *Venice* afforded while I was there, was the Company of *Mr. de la Haye*, the *French Ambaſſador*, who as he hath ſpent his whole life in publick *Embaſſies*, ſo he hath acquired ſo great a Knowledge of the World, with ſo true a Judgment, and ſo obliging a Civility, that he may well paſs for a Pattern; and it is no wonder to ſee him ſtill ingaged in a conſtant ſucceſſion of publick Imployments; and his *Lady* is ſo wonderful a perſon, that I pay them both but a very ſmall part of what I owe them, in this Acknowledgment, which I judge my ſelf bound to make of their extraordinary Civilities to me; and indeed, without the Advantage of ſuch a Rendezvous as I had there, a fortnights ſtay at *Venice* had been a very tedious matter. From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*; From thence to *Rovigo*, which is but a ſmall *Town*, and ſo to the *Po*, which divides the Territory of the *Republick*, from the *Ferrareſe*, which is now the *Popes Country*; and here one ſees what a difference a good and a

bad *Government* makes in a *Country*; for tho the ſoil is the ſame on both ſides of the River, and the *Ferrareſe* was once one of the beautifulleſt ſpots of all *Italy*, as *Ferrara* was one of its beſt *Towns*, while they had *Princes* of their own, who for a courſe of ſome Ages were *Princes* of ſuch Eminent Vertue, and of ſo Heroical a Nobleneſs, that they were really the Fathers of their Country; nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The ſoil is abandoned, and uncultivated, nor were there hands enough ſo much as to mow their Graſs, which we ſaw withering in their Meadows to our no ſmall wonder. We were amazed to ſee ſo rich a ſoil thus forſaken of its Inhabitants, and much more when we paſſed through that vaſt *Town*, which by its extent ſhews what it was about an age ago, and is now ſo much deſerted, that there are whole ſides of Streets without Inhabitants, and the Poverty of the Place appears ſignally in the *Churches*, which are mean, and poorly adorned; for the ſuperſtition of *Italy* is ſo ravenous, and makes ſuch a progreſs in this *Age*, that one may juſtly take the meaſures of the Wealth of any place from the *Churches*. The Superſtition, or Vanity of *this Age*, is ſo much beyond that of the paſt (tho the contrary to this is commonly believed) that all the vaſt Buildings of great *Churches* or rich *Convents*, and the ſurpriſing Wealth that appears in them on Feſtival dayes, are the Donatives of the preſent Age; ſo that it is a vulgar error that ſome have taken up, who fancy, that *Superſtition is at a ſtand, if not in a-*

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Decay; unleſs it be acknowledged, that the craft of the *Prieſts* hath opened to them a new method to ſupport their riches, when the old ones of *Purgatory*, and *Indulgences* were become leſs effectual in an Age of more knowledge, and better inlightned; and that is, to ingagement to an Emulation and a Vanity in Enriching their *Churches*, as much as other *Italians* have in the enriching their *Palaces*; ſo that as they have a Pleaſure as well as a Vanity, in ſeeing ſo much dead wealth in their houſes, they have tranſlated the ſame humour to their *Churches*: and the vanity of the preſent *Age*, that believes little or nothing of thoſe contrivances, of *Purgatory*, or the like, produceth the ſame, if not greater effects, in the building and enriching their *Churches*, and ſo carries it, in Expence and Prodigality, from the ſuperſtition of the former *Ages*, that believed every thing. But to return to *Ferrara*, I could not but ask all I ſaw, how it came, that ſo rich a ſoil was ſo ſtrangely abandoned? ſome ſaid, the Air was become ſo unhealthy, that thoſe who ſtay in it were very ſhort-lived; but it is well known, that fourſcore years ago it was well peopled; and the ill Air is occaſioned by the want of Inhabitants; for there not being people to drain the ground, and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes that there is a great deal of water that lies on the ground and rots, which infects the Air in the ſame manner, as is obſerved in that vaſt and rich, but uninhabited *Champaign* of *Rome*; ſo that the ill Air is the effect, rather than the cauſe, of the diſpeopling of the *Popes Dominions*,

tions. The true cauſe is the Severity of the *Government*, and the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiſcations, by which the *Nephews* of ſeveral *Popes*, as they have devoured many of the Families of *Ferrara*, ſo they have driven away many more. And this appears more viſibly, by the different State as well as the Conſtitution of *Bologna*, which is full of people that abound in Wealth; and as the Soil is extream rich, ſo it is cultivated with all due care. For *Bologna* delivered it ſelf to the *Popedom* upon a Capitulation, by which there are many Priviledges reſerved to it: Crimes there are only puniſhed in the perſons of thoſe who commit them; but there are no confiſcations of Eſtates; and tho the Authority, in criminal matters, belongs to the *Pope*, and is managed by a *Legate* and his Officers; yet the Civil Government, the Magiſtracy, and the power of Judicature in Civil matters, is intirely in the hands of the *State*: And by this Regulation it is, that as the riches of *Bologna* amazes a Stranger, it neither being on a Navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor being the Center of a Soveraignty, where a Court is kept; ſo the Taxes that the *Popes* fetch from thence are ſo conſiderable, that he draws much more from this place of Liberty, than from thoſe where his Authority is unlimited and abſolute, but that are by thoſe means almoſt quite abandoned: for the greatneſs of a *Prince* or *State* riſing from the numbers of the *Subjects*, thoſe Maxims that retain the Subjects, and that draw

draw Strangers to come among them, are certainly the trueſt Maxims for advancing the greatneſs of the Maſter. And I could not but with much ſcorn obſerve the folly of ſome *Frenchmen*, who made uſe of this Argument to ſhew the Greatneſs of their Nation, that one found many *Frenchmen* in all places to which one could come, whereas there were no *English* nor *Dutch*, no *Switzers*, and very few *Germans*; but this is juſt contrary to the right conſequence that ought to be drawn from this obſervation. It is certain, that few leave their Country, and go to ſettle elſewhere, if they are not preſſed with ſo much uneaſineſs at home, that they cannot well live among their Friends and Kindred; ſo that a *mild Government* drives out no ſwarms: whereas it is the ſure mark of a *ſevere Government* that weakens it ſelf, when many of the *Subjects* find it ſo hard to ſubſiſt at home, that they are forced to ſeek that abroad, which they would much rather do in their own Country; if Impoſitions and other Severities, did not force them to change their Habitations.

But to return to the Wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every Corner of the Town, and all round it, tho its ſcituation is not very favourable; for it lyes at the foot of the *Appenins*, on the North-ſide, and is extream cold in Winter. The Houſes are built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, ſo that one walks all the Town over, covered under *Piazza*'s; but the walks here are both higher and larger than any where

elſe: there are many Noble *Palaces* all over the Town, and the *Churches* and *Convents* are incredibly rich: within the Town, the richeſt are the *Dominicans*, which is the chief Houſe of the *Order*, where their Founders Body is laid in one of the beſt Chappels of *Italy*: and next to them are the *Franciſcans*, the *Servites*, the *Jeſuites*, and the *Cannons Regular* of *St. Salvator*. In this laſt there is a Scrowl of the *Hebrew Bible*, which tho it is not the tenth part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole Bible: and they were made believe by ſome *Jew*, that hath no doubt ſold it at a high rate, that it was written by *Ezra's* own hand, and this hath paſt long for current: but the *Manuſcript* is only a fine Copy, like thoſe that the *Jews* uſe in their *Synagogues*, that may be perhaps three or four hundred *Years* old: that part of it on which I caſt my eye, was the *Book of Eſther*; ſo by the bulk of the Scrowl, I judged it to be the collection of thoſe ſmall books of the *Old Teſtament* that the *Jews* ſet after the *Law*; but thoſe of the Houſe fancy they have a great treaſure in it, and perhaps ſuch *Jews* as have ſeen it are willing to laugh at their ignorance, and ſo ſuffer them to go on in their Error. The chief *Church* in the Town is *St. Petrone's*, and there one ſees the curious and exact *Meridional-line*, which that rare Aſtronomer *Caſſini* laid along a great part of the Pavement in a *braſs Circle*: it marks the true point of *midday* from *June* to *January*, and is one of the beſt Performances that perhaps the World

World ever ſaw. In the great ſquare before the *Church*, on the one ſide of which is the *Legates Palace*, among other *Statues* one ſurprized me much, it was *Pope Joans*, which is ſo named by the people of the Town; it is true, the learned men ſay, it is the *Statue* of *Pope Nicolas* the IV. who had indeed a youthly and womaniſh face. But as I looked at this *Statue* very attentively, through a little *proſpect* that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the face of a young Woman, and was very unlike that of *Pope Nicolas* the IV. which is in *St. Maria Maggiore* at *Rome*: For the *Statue* of that *Pope*, tho it hath no beard, yet hath an age in it, that is very much different from the *Statue* at *Bologna*. I do not build any thing on this *Statue*; for I do not believe that Story at all; and I my ſelf ſaw in *England* a Manuſcript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this matter, which did not ſeem to be written long after the Authors time, in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the margin by another hand. On the Hill above *Bologna* ſtands the *Monaſtery* of *St. Michael* in *Boſco*, which hath a moſt charming ſcituation and proſpect, and is one of the beſt *Monaſteries* in *Italy*; it hath many *Courts*, and one that is Cloiſtered, and is Octangular; which is ſo nobly painted in *Freſco*, that it is great pity to ſee ſuch work expoſed to the Air: All was retouched by the famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again

much decayed: The *Dormitory* is very Magnificent; the *Chappel* is little, but very fine; and the *Stalls* are richly carved. On the other ſide of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthuſians* have alſo a very rich Monaſtery: Four miles from *Bologna* there is a *Madona* of of Saint *Lukes*; and becauſe many go thither in great Devotion, there is a *Portico* Building, which is already carried on almoſt half way; It is walled towards the North, but ſtands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high; it is carried on very vigorouſly; for in eight or ten years the half is built, ſo that in a little time, the whole will very probably be finiſhed; and this may prove the beginning of many ſuck like *Portico*'s in *Italy*; for things of this kind want only a beginning, and when they are once ſet on foot, they do quickly ſpread themſelves in a Country that is ſo intirely ſubdued by *Superſtition*, and the Artifices of their *Prieſts*. In *Bologna* they reckon there are ſeventy thouſand perſons. I ſaw not one of the chief Glories of this place; for the famous *Malphigius* was out of Town while I was there. I ſaw a *Play* there; but the *Poeſy* was ſo bad, the *Farces* ſo rude, and all was ſo ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to ſee the Company expreſs ſo great a Satisfaction in that which would have been hiſs'd off the ſtage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight miles in a Plain, and then we ingage into that range of Hills that carry the name of *Appenins*, tho that is ſtrictly given only

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to one that is the higheſt: All the way to *Florence* this track of Hills continues, tho there are ſeveral bottoms, and ſome conſiderable little Towns in them, but all is up-hill and down-hill, and *Florence* it ſelf, is juſt at the bottom of the laſt Hill. The high-ways all along theſe Hills are kept in ſo very good caſe, that in few of the beſt inhabited Countrys doth one find the High-wayes ſo well maintained, as in thoſe forſaken Mountains: but this is ſo great a Paſſage, that all that are concerned in it, find their account, in the expence they lay out upon it. On the laſt of theſe Hills, tho in a little bottom, in the midſt of a Hill, ſtands *Pratolino*, one of the great *Dukes Palaces*, where the retreat in Summer muſt be very agreeable; for the Air of thoſe Mountains is extream thin and pure. The *Gardens* in *Italy* are made at a great coſt; the *Statues* and *Fountains* are very rich and noble; the Grounds are well laid out; and the Walks are long and even: But as they have no Gravel, to give them thoſe firm and beautiful walks that we have in *England*, ſo the conſtant greenneſs of the Box doth ſo much pleaſe them, that they, preferring the ſight to the ſmell, have their *Gardens* ſo high ſented by plots made with them, that there is no pleaſure to walk in them; they alſo lay their walks ſo between Hedges, that one is much confined in them. I ſaw firſt in a *Garden* at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards in many *Gardens* in *Italy*, which was extream convenient, there went a courſe of Water round

about the Walls, about a foot from the ground is a channel of ſtone, that went along the ſide of the Wall; and in this there were holes ſo made, that a pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them, conveyed the Water to ſuch plants, as in dry ſeaſon, needed watring; and a Cock ſet the Water a running in this courſe, ſo that without the trouble of carrying Water, one perſon could eaſily manage the watring of a great *Garden*. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great *Palaces*, rich *Churches*, and ſtately *Convents*. The ſtreets are paved in imitation of the old *Roman High-wayes*, with great Stone, bigger than our common pavement Stone, but much thicker, which are ſo hollowed, in their joynings to one another, that horſes find faſtning enough to their feet: There are many *Statues* and *Fountains* in the ſtreets, ſo that in every corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a deſcription of the *great Dukes Palace* and Gardens, or of the old *Palace*, and the *Gallery* that joyns to it, and of the vaſt Collection of *Pictures*, *Statues*, *Cabinets*, and other Curioſities that muſt needs amaze every one that ſees them: the Plate, and in particular, the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all ſuch extraordinary things, that they would require a very copious deſcription, if that had not been done ſo often, that it were to very little purpoſe to Copy what others have ſaid: and theſe things are ſo exactly ſeen by every Traveller, that I can ſay nothing that is more particular of theſe

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ſubjects, than you will find in the common *Itinerarys* of all Travellers. The great *Dome* is a magnificent building, but the Frontiſpiece to the great Gate is not yet made. The *Cupulo*, is after *St. Peters*, the greateſt and higheſt that I ſaw in *Italy*; it is three hundred foot high, and of a vaſt compaſs; and the whole *Architecture* of this Fabrick is very ſingular, as well as regular. Only that which was intended to add to its Beauty, leſſened it very much in my thoughts: for the Walls that are all of Marble, being of white and black Marble, laid in different figures and orders, looked too like a Livery, and had not that air of Nobleneſs which in my opinion becomes ſo glorious a Fabrick. The *Baptiſtery*, that ſtands before it, was a Noble *Heathen* Temple; its *Gates* of braſs, are the beſt of that ſort that are in the World: There are ſo many *Hiſtorys* ſo well repreſented in *Bas Reliefs* in them, with ſo much Exactneſs, the Work is ſo natural, and yet ſo fine, that a curious man could find entertainement for many dayes, if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple with a critical exactneſs. The *Annunciata*, *St. Marks*, *St. Croce*, and *S. Maria Novella*, are *Churches* of great Beauty and vaſt Riches; but the *Church* and *Chappel* of *S. Laurence* exceeds them all, as much in the Riches within, as it is inferiour to them in the outſide, which is quite flea'd, (if I may ſo ſpeak) but on deſign to give it a rich out-ſide of Marble. In a *Chappel* within this *Church*, the Bodies of the *great Dukes* lye depoſited,

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till the famous *Chappel* is finiſhed. But I was much ſcandalized to ſee *Statues* with *Nudities* here, which I do not remember to have ſeen any where elſe in *Churches*. I will not offer at a deſcription of the Glorious *Chappel*, which as it is without doubt, the richeſt piece of building that perhaps the World ever ſaw, ſo it goes on ſo ſlowly, that tho there are alwayes many at work, yet it doth not ſeem to advance proportionably to the number of the hands that are imployed in it. Among the *Statues* that are to be in it, there is one of the *Virgin's*, made by *Michael Angelo*, which repreſents her grief at the Paſſion of her Bleſſed Son, that hath the moſt life in it of all the *Statues* I ever ſaw. But the famous *Library*, that belongs to this *Convent*, took up more of my time than all the other Curioſities of *Florence*; for here is a collection of many Manuſcripts, moſt of them are *Greek*, that were gathered together by *Pope Clement* the VII. and given to his *Country*: there are very few Printed *Books* mixed with them; and thoſe Books that are there, are ſo rare, that they are almoſt as curious as *Manuſcripts*. I ſaw ſome of *Virgils Poems* in old Capitals. There is a *Manuſcript*, in which ſome parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written, and in one place, one in a different hand had writ, that he had compared thoſe *Manuſcripts*; and he adds a date to this in *Olibrius's* time, which is about twelve hundred *Years* ago. I found ſome dipthongs in it caſt into one Letter, which ſurprized me; for I thought that

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way of writing them had not been ſo ancient: but that which pleaſed me moſt was, that the *Library-keeper* aſſured me, that one had lately found *the famous Epiſtle of St. Chryſoſtome to Ceſarius in Greek*, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the *Manuſcripts* of that *Fathers Books*; of which they have a great many. He thought he remembred well the place where the Book ſtood; ſo we turned over all the Books that ſtood near it, but I found it not: he promiſed to look it out for me, if I came back that way: But I changing my deſign, and going back another way, could not ſee the bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi*, who is the *Great Dukes* Library-keeper, and is a perſon of moſt wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as he is learned beyond imagination, aſſured me, that this could be no other than a miſtake of the *Library keepers*; he ſaid, ſuch a diſcovery could not have been made, without making ſo much noiſe, that he muſt have heard of it. He added, there was not one man in *Florence*, that either underſtood *Greek*, or that examined *Manuſcripts*; ſo that he aſſured me, I could not build on what an ignorant *Library-keeper* had told me: So I ſet down this matter as I found it, without building much on it. *Florence* is much ſunk from what it was; for they do not reckon, that there are above fifty thouſand ſouls in it: and the other *States*, that were once great *Republicks*, ſuch as *Siena* and *Piſa*, while they retained their Liberty, are now ſhrunk almoſt into

into nothing: It is certain, that all three together, are now not ſo numerous, as any one of them was two hundred years ago. *Legorn* is full of people, and all round *Florence* there are a great many *Villages*, but as one goes over *Tuſcany*, it appears ſo diſpeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a *Country*, that hath been a Scene of ſo much Action, and ſo many *Wars*, now ſo forſaken, and ſo poor, and that in many places the Soil is quite neglected for want of hands to cultivate it; and in other places, where there are more people, they look ſo poor, and their Houſes are ſuch miſerable Ruins, that it is ſcarce accountable, how there ſhould be ſo much Poverty in ſo rich a *Country*, which is all over full of *Beggars*: and here the ſtile of Begging was a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy*; for whereas there they begged for the ſake of *St. Anthony*, here all begged for *the Souls that were in Purgatory*; and this was the ſtile in all the other parts of *Italy*, through which I paſſed. In ſhort; the diſpeopling of *Tuſcany*, and moſt of the *Principalities of Italy*, but chiefly of the *Popes Dominions*, which are more abandoned than any other part of *Italy*, ſeemed to flow from nothing but the Severity of the *Government*, and the great Decay of *Trade*: For the greateſt Trade of *Italy* being in *Silk*, the vaſt Importation of *Silks* that the *Eaſt-India Companies* bring into *Europe*, hath quite ruined all thoſe that deal in this Manufacture: Yet this is not the chief Cauſe of the diſpeopling of thoſe rich *Countrys*;

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the Severity of the *Taxes* is the true Reaſon: notwithſtanding all that Decay of Trade, the Taxes are ſtill kept up. Beſide this, the vaſt Wealth of the *Convents*, where the only people of *Italy* are to be found, that live not only at their Eaſe, but in great plenty and Luxury, makes many forſake all ſort of Induſtry, and ſeek for a retreat in one of thoſe Seats of Pleaſure; ſo that the People do not increaſe faſt enough to make a new race to come inſtead of thoſe, whom a hard *Government* drives away. It muſt needs ſurprize an unattentive Traveller, to ſee not only the *Venetian Territory*, which is indeed a rich Country, but the *Bailiages* of the *Switzers*, and the Coaſt of *Genoa* ſo full of People, when *Tuſcany*, the *Patrimony*, and the *Kingdom of Naples*, have ſo few Inhabitants. In the Coaſt of *Genoa*, there is for many miles as it were a conſtant tract of *Towns* and *Villages*, and all thoſe are well peopled, tho they have ſcarce any Soil at all, lying under the *Mountains*, that are very barren, and that expoſe them to a moſt uneaſy Sun; and that they lie upon a boiſtrous *Sea*, that is almoſt alwayes in a Storm, and that affords very few fiſh: and yet the Gentleneſs of the *Government* draws ſuch multitudes thither, and thoſe are ſo full of Wealth, that *Mony* goes at *two per cent.* But on the other hand, to ballance this a little, ſo ſtrange and wild a thing! is the nature of Man, at leaſt of *Italians*,

Italians, that I was told, that the worſt people of all *Italy* are the *Genoeſes*, and the moſt generally corrupted in their Morals, as to all ſorts of Vice; ſo that tho a *ſevere Government* and *Slavery*, are contrary to the nature of man, and to human Society, to *Juſtice* and *Equity*, and to that eſſential Equality, that Nature hath made among men; yet on the other hand, all men cannot bear that Eaſe and Liberty that become the Human Nature. The *ſuperſtition* of *Italy*, and the great waſt of Wealth that one ſees in their *Churches*, particularly thoſe prodigious Maſſes of *Plate*, with which their *Altars* are covered on Holydays, doth alſo ſink their *Trade* extreamly; for Silver, being in Commerce, what blood is in the body, when ſo much of that is dead, and circulates no more, it is no wonder if ſuch an extravaſation (if I may uſe ſo long and ſo hard a word) of Silver, occaſions a great Deadneſs in Trade. I had almoſt forgot one remark, that I made in the laſt Hill of the *Appenins*, juſt above *Florence*, that I never ſaw ſuch tall and big Cypreſſes any where as grew over all that Hill, which ſeemed a little ſtrange, that Tree being apt to be ſtarved by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are ſevere. All the ways in *Tuſcany* are very rugged, except on the ſides of the *Arne*. But the uneaſineſs of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the Highways, which

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are all in very good case: The *Inns* are wretched, and ill furnished both for Lodging and Diet. This is the plague of all *Italy*, when once one hath passed the *Appenins*; for, except in the great Towns, one really suffers so much that way, that the Pleasure of Travelling is much abated by the Inconveniences that one meets in every Stage through which he passes. I am

SIR

Yours,

THE FOURTH LETTER.

From Rome, the 8th of *December*, 1685.

I Am now in the last stage of my *Voyage* over *Italy*; for since my last from *Florence*, I have not only got hither, but have been in *Naples*; and have now satisfied my Curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this place within a day or two, and go to *Civita vecchia*, and from thence by *Sea* to *Marseilles*; and so avoid an unpleasant Winters Journey over the *Alps*. It is true, I lose the sight of *Turin*, *Genoa*, and some other *Courts*; but tho I am told, these deserve well the pains of the Journey; yet when one rises from a great meal, no Delicacies, how much soever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his appetite: So I confess freely, that the sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have so set my stomach that way, that the Curiosity of seeing new places is now very low with me; and indeed, these that I have of late seen are such, that places which at another time would please me much, would now make but a slight and cold Impression.

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All the way from *Florence*, through the *Great Dukes* Country, looked ſo ſad, that I concluded, it muſt be the moſt diſpeopled of all *Italy*; but indeed, I changed my note when I came into the *Popes Territories*, at *Ponti Centino*, where there was a rich bottom all uncultivated, and not ſo much as ſtocked with Cattle: But as I paſſed from *M. Fiaſcone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared yet more amazing; for a vaſt Champian *Country* lay almoſt quite deſerted. And that wide *Town*, which is of ſo great a compaſs, hath yet ſo few Inhabitants, and thoſe look ſo poor and miſerable, that the people in the ordinary *Towns* in *Scotland*, and in its worſt Places, make a better appearance. When I was within a days Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of ſo great a *City* muſt mend the matter; but I was much diſappointed; for a Soil that was ſo rich, and lay ſo ſweetly, that it far exceeded any thing I ever ſaw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattel upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear: The ſurprize that this gave me, increaſed upon me as I went out of *Rome* on its other ſide, chiefly all the way to *Naples*, and on the way to *Civita Vecchia*; for that vaſt and rich Champian *Country*, that runs all along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita Vecchia* is above a hundred miles long, and is in many places twelve or twenty miles broad, is abandoned to ſuch a degree, that as far as ones eye can carry one, there is often not ſo much as a houſe to be ſeen; but on the Hills, that are on the North-ſide of this *Valley*: and by this

dispeopling of the Country, the Air is now become so unwholsom, that it is not safe to be a night in it all the Summer long; for the Water, that lyes upon many places, not being drained, it rots; and in the Summer this produces so many noisom Steams, that it is felt even in *Rome* it self; and if it were not for the breeses that come from the *Mountains*, the Air would be intolerable: When one sees all this large, but waste Country, from the Hill of *Marino*, twelve miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word, it is the rigour of the *Government* that hath driven away the Inhabitants; and their being driven away, hath now reduced it to such a pass, that it is hardly possible to repeople it: for such as would come to drain and cultivate it, must run a great hazard, and few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no other Reward of their Industry, but an Uneasy *Government*. It is the greatest Solicism in *Government* for the *Prince* to be *Elective*, and yet *Absolute*; for an *Hereditary Prince* is induced to consider his Posterity, and to maintain his people, so that those that come after him may still support the rank which they hold in the World: But an *Elective Prince* hath nothing of that in his eye, unless he hath a pitch of generosity, which is not ordinary among men, and least of all among *Italians*, who have a passion for their Families, which is not known in other places: and thus a *Pope*, who comes in late to this Dignity, which by consequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn

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to those Councels, by which his Family may make all the Hay they can during this Sunshine: And tho anciently the *Cardinals* were a check upon the *Pope*, and a sort of a *Council*, without whom he could do nothing even in *Temporals*; yet now they have quite lost that; and they have no other share in affairs, than that to which the *Pope* thinks fit to admit them; so that he is the most *absolute Prince* in *Europe*. It is true, as to *Spirituals*, they retain still a large share, so that in Censures and Definitions the *Pope* can do nothing regularly, without their concurrence; tho it is certain, that they have not so good a *Title* to pretend to that, as to a share in the *Temporal Principality*. For if the *Pope* derives any thing from *Saint Peter*, all *that* is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he thinks best, since the *Infallibility*, according to their pretensions, rests singly in him; yet because there was not so much to be got by acting Arbitrary in those matters, and a Summary way of exercising this Authority, might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the grounds on which it is built; therefore the *Popes* have let the *Cardinals* retain still a share in this *Supremacy* over the *Church*, tho they have no claim to it, neither by any *Divine* nor *Ecclesiastical* Warrants: But as for the endowments of the *See of Rome*, to which they may justly lay claim, as being in a manner the *Chapter* of that *See*; there is so much to be got by this, that the *Popes* have

ingroſſed it wholly to themſelves: and thus it is, that the *Government* of this *Principality* is very unſteady. Sometimes the *Popes Family* are extreamly glorious, and magnificent; at other times, they think of nothing but of eſtabliſhing their Houſe: Sometimes the *Pope* is a Man of ſenſe himſelf; Sometimes he is quite ſunk, and as the laſt *Pope* was, he becomes a Child again through old age: Sometimes he hath a particular Stiffneſs of Temper, with a great Slowneſs of Underſtanding, and an inſatiable deſire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of *him* that now *reigns*. By this diverſity, which appears eminently in every new *Pontificate*, that commonly avoids thoſe Exceſſes that made the former *reign* odious, the *Counſels* of the *Popedom* are weak and disjoynted. But if this is ſenſible to all *Europe*, with relation to the general concerns of that Body, it is much more viſible in the *Principality* it ſelf, that is ſubject to ſo variable a Head. There hath been in this *Age* a ſucceſſion of *four* ravenous *reigns*; and tho there was a ſhort Interruption in the *Reign* of the *Roſpiglioſi*, that coming after the *Barberins*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Giugi's*, did not inrich it ſelf; and yet it diſordered the *Revenue*, by the vaſt Magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty nine *Months* time, than any other had done in ſo many *years*. The *Altieri* did, in a moſt ſcandalous manner, raiſe themſelves in a very ſhort and deſpiſed *Reign*, and built one of the Nobleſt *Palaces* in *Rome*. He that reigns *now*, doth not indeed

indeed raiſe his *Family* avowedly, but he doth not eaſe the People of their *Taxes*: and as there is no Magnificence in his *Court*, nor any publick Buildings now carrying on at *Rome*; ſo the many vacant *Caps*, occaſion many empty *Palaces*: and by this means, there is ſo little expence now made at *Rome*, that it is not poſſible for the People to live and pay the Taxes, which hath driven, as is believed almoſt a fourth part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome*, during this *Pontificate*. And as the preemption of the *Corn* makes, that there is no profit made by the Owners, out of the cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the *Pope*, ſo there are no wayes left here of imploying ones *Mony* to any conſiderable Advantage: For the publick *Banks*, which are all in the *Popes* hand, do not pay in effect *three per cent*, tho they pretend to give *four per cent* of intereſt: The ſettlement is indeed *four per cent*, and this was thought ſo great an advantage, that Actions on the *Popes Bank* were bought at a *hundred* and *ſixteen the hundred*. But this *Pope* broke through all this, and declared, he would give all Men their Mony again, unleſs they would pay him *thirty per cent* for the continuing of this Intereſt; and thus for a hundred *Crouns* Principal, one not only payd at firſt one hundred and ſixteen: but afterwards thirty; in all one hundred ſix and forty for the hundred, which is almoſt the half loſt: For whenſoever the *Pope* will pay them back their Mony, all the reſt is loſt: And while

I am here; there is a report, that the *Pope* is treating with the *Genoeſes* for Mony at *two per cent*; and if he gets it on thoſe terms, then he will pay his Debts; and the Subjects, that have put in Mony in this Bank, will, by this means, loſe ſix and forty *per cent*, which is almoſt the half of their Stock. A man of quality at *Rome*, and an eminent *Churchman*, who took me likewiſe for one of their *Clergy*, becauſe I wore the *Habit* of a *Churchman*, ſaid, that it was a horrible Scandal to the whole Chriſtian World; and made one doubt of the Truth of the *Chriſtian Religion*, to ſee more Oppreſſion and Cruelty in their *Territory*, than was to be found even in *Turky*; tho it being in the Hands of *Chriſt's Vicar*, one ſhould expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle *Government*: and how (ſaid he) can a Man expect to find his *Religion* here, where the common Maxims of Juſtice and Mercy were not ſo much as known. And I can never forget the lively reflection that a *Roman Prince* made to me upon the folly of all thoſe ſevere Oppreſſions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, ſo they reduce thoſe that are left to ſuch a degeneracy of Spirit by their Neceſſities, that the *Spaniards*, whoſe *Dominions* look ſo big in the *Map*, are now brought ſo low; and if they had kept ſtill the poſſeſſion they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would ſignifie no more towards their preſervation, than their other *Provinces* did; which, by their unskilful conduct, they have both diſpeopled and exhauſted:

hausted. Whereas by their losing those *Seven Provinces*, those *States* have fallen upon such wise Notions of *Government*, and have drawn so much *Wealth*, and such numbers of *People* together, that *Spain* it self was now preserved by them, and was saved in this Age by the loss it made of those *Provinces* in the *last*; and those *States*, that if they had remained subject to *Spain*, would have signified little to its support, did that now much more considerably, by being *Allies*, than they could have done, if they had not shaken off their Yoke.

Indeed, if *Spain* had been so happy as to have such *Viceroys*, and *Governours*, as it has now in *Naples*, their affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The *Marquis of Carpy*, in his youth intended to have taken so severe a Revenge of an Injury, that he thought the late *King of Spain* did him in an Amour, that he designed the blowing him up by Gun-powder, when he was in the *Council-Chamber*; but that Crime was discovered in time, and was not only forgiven him in consideration of the greatness of his Family, he being the Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*, but after that he was made for several years *Ambassador at Rome*: He is now *Viceroy of Naples*, and is the only *Governour* of all the Places through which I passed, that is, without exception, beloved and esteemed by all sorts of People; for during the few years of his *Ministry*, he hath redressed such Abuses that seemed past cure, and that required an Age to correct them:

He hath repreſſed the Inſolence of the *Spaniards* ſo much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no occaſion to complain of the haughtineſs of their Maſters; for he proceeds againſt the *Spaniards* with no leſs ſeverity, when they give cauſe for it, than againſt the *Neapolitans*: He hath taken the Pay of the Souldiers ſo immediately into his own care, that they, who before his coming, were half naked, and robbed ſuch as paſſed on the Streets of *Naples* in day light, are now exactly payed, well diſciplined, and ſo decently cloathed, that it is a pleaſure to ſee them. He examins their Muſters alſo ſo exactly, that he is ſure not to be cheated by falſe liſts: He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true Exactneſs: And whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has ſent for Loaves out of the ſeveral places of the Markets, and weighed them himſelf; and by ſome ſevere Puniſhments on thoſe that ſold the Bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a juſt Regulation: He hath alſo brought the *Courts of Judicature*, that were thought generally very corrupt, to Reputation again; and it is believed, he hath Spies to watch in caſe the trade of Bribes is found to be ſtill going on: He hath fortified the *Palace*, which was before his time ſo much expoſed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a deſcent upon it. But two things, that raiſe his reputation moſt, are his Extirpating of the *Banditi*, and the Regulation of the *Coin*, which he hath taken in hand.

hand. It is well enough known, what a Plague the *Banditi* have been to the *Kingdom*; for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to reſiſt an ordinary Body of Souldiers, if they had ſet on them: Theſe travelled about ſeeking for ſpoil all the Summer long; but in Winter they were harboured by ſome of the *Neapolitan Barrons*, who gave them Quarters; and thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as ſo many Inſtruments ready to execute their Revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples*, and there was a *Council* that had the Care of the reducing the *Banditi* committed to them, who as they catched ſome few, and hanged them, ſo they fined ſuch *Barons* as gave them harbour; and it was believed, that thoſe Fines, amounted to near a hundred and fifty thouſand *Crowns* a year: And thus the diſeaſe went on; only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the bottom of the Diſtemper. But when the preſent *Viceroy* entred upon the *Government*, he reſolved to extirpate all the *Banditi*; and he firſt let all the *Barons* underſtand, that if they harboured them any more, a little Fine would not ſave them, but that he would proceed againſt them with the utmoſt ſeverity; and by this means the *Banditi* could find no Winter Quarters: So they betook themſelves to ſome faſtneſſes among the Hills, and reſolved to make good the Paſſes, and to accommodate themſelves the beſt they could amidſt

amidſt the Mountains. The *Viceroy* ſent a great body againſt them, but they defended themſelves for ſome time vigorouſly, and in one ſally they killed five hundred men; but at laſt, ſeeing that they were like to be hard preſt, and that the *Viceroy* intended to come againſt them in Perſon, they accepted of the terms that he offered them, which was, a pardon for what was paſt, both as to life and Gallies, and ſix pence a day for their entertainment in Priſon during life, of the *Viceroys* pleaſure; and ſo they rendred themſelves. They are kept in a large Priſon, and now and then, as he ſees cauſe for it, he ſends ſome few of them up and down to ſerve in *Garriſons*. And thus, beyond all mens expectation, he finiſhed this matter in a very few months; and the *Kingdom of Naples*, that hath been ſo long a ſcene of Pillage and Robbery, is now ſo much changed, that in no place of *Europe* do the Subjects injoy a more entire Security. As for the *Coin*, it, as all the other *Spaniſh Mony*, is ſo ſubject to Clipping, that the whole mony of *Naples* is now light, and far below the true value; ſo the *Viceroy* hath reſolved to redreſs this; he conſiders, that the crying down of Mony, that paſſeth upon the publick Credit, is a robbing of thoſe in whoſe hands the mony happens to be, when ſuch Proclamations are put out; and therefore he takes a method that is more general, in which every one will bear his ſhare, ſo that none will be crûſhed by it. He hath laid ſome *Taxes* on the whole *Kingdom*, and

hath

hath got a great many to bring in ſome *Plate* to be coyned: and when he hath thus prepared ſuch a quantity, as may ſerve for the circulation that is neceſſary, he intends to call in all the old Mony, and to give out new Mony for it. Thus doth this *Viceroy* ſet ſuch a pattern to the other *Miniſters* of the Crown of *Spain*, that if many would follow it, the State of their affairs would be ſoon altered.

The *Kingdom of Naples* is the richeſt part of all *Italy*; for the very *Mountains*, that are near the half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either *Wine* or *Oil*, in great abundance. *Apulia* is a great *Corn* Country, but it is exceſſive hot, and in ſome years all is burnt up. The *Jeſuites* are the *Proprietors* of near the half of *Apulia*; and they treat their Tenants with the ſame rigour that the *Barons* of this Kingdom do generally uſe towards their Farmers: for the *Commons* here are ſo miſerably oppreſſed, that in many places they dye of hunger, even amidſt the great plenty of their beſt years; for the *Corn* is exported to *Spain*: but neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Neopolitans* underſtand Trade ſo well as to be their own Merchants or Carriers, ſo that the *Engliſh* do generally carry away the profit of this Trade. The *Oil* of this *Kingdom* is ſtill a vaſt Trade, and the *Manufacture* of the *Wool* and *Soap* of *England*, conſumes yearly ſome thouſands of Tuns. The *Silk Trade* is ſo low, that it only ſerves themſelves, but the exportation is inconſiderable: the Sloth and Lazineſs of this people renders them incapable of making thoſe Advantages

of

of so rich a soil, that a more industrious sort of people would find out: For it amazes a Stranger to see in their little Towns, the whole men of the town walking in the Market-places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing; and tho in some big towns, such as *Capua*, there is but one *Inn*, yet even that is so miserable, that the best Room and Bed in it, is so bad, that our *Footmen* in *England* would make a grievous Out-cry if they were no better lodged; nor is there any thing to be had in them: the Wine is intolerable, the Bread ill Baked, no Victuals, except Pigeons, and the Oil is rotten. In short, except one carries his whole Provision from *Rome* or *Naples*, he must resolve to indure a good deal of Misery in the four days journy that is between those two places. And this is what a *Traveller*, that sees the Riches of the soil, cannot comprehend: but as they have not hands enough for their soil, so those they have are generally so little imployed, that it is no wonder to see their soil produce so little; that in the midst of all that abundance, that Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest *Nations* of *Europe*. But beside this which I have named, the vast and dead Wealth that is in the hands of the *Churchmen*, is another evident cause of their misery. One that knew the State of this *Kingdom* well, assured me, that if it were divided into *five parts*, upon a strict survey, it would be found, that the *Churchmen* had *four parts* of the five: which he made out thus, they have in *Soil* above the half of

the

the whole, which is two and a half; and in *Tythes*, and Gifts, and *Legacies*, they have one and a half more: for no man dieth without leaving a considerable Legacy to some *Church* or some *Convent*. The Wealth that one sees in the *City* of *Naples* alone, passeth imagination; there are four and twenty *Houses* of the *Order* of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciscans*, seven of the *Jesuites*; besides the *Convents*, of the *Olivitanes*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines*; and above all, for scituation and riches, the *Carthusians*, on the top of the Hill that lieth over the *Town*. The riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious: It is the greatest *Hospital* in the World; the *Revenue* is said to be four hundred thousand *Crowns* a year: the number of the Sick is not so great as at *Milan*: Yet one convenience for their Sick I observed in their Galleries, which was considerable, that every Bed stood as in an *Alcove*, and had a Wall on both sides, separating it from the Beds on both hands, and as much void space of both sides of the Bed, that the Bed it self took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are so many, that one can hardly believe the numbers that they boast of; for they talk of many thousands that are not seen, but are at Nurse: a great part of the wealth of *this House* goeth to the inriching their *Church*, which will be all over within crusted with inlayings of lovely Marble, in a great variety and beauty of colours: The *Plate* that is in the *Treasury* here

and

and at the *Dome*, (which is but a mean building, because it is ancient, but hath a Noble Chappel, and a vast Treasure) and in a great many other *Churches*, are so prodigious, that upon the modestest estimate, the *Plate* of the *Churches of Naples* amounts to eight millions of *Crowns*. The new *Church* of the *Jesuites*, that of *S. John the Apostle*, and that of *S. Paul*, are surprizingly rich; the gilding and painting that is on the *Roofs* of those *Churches* have cost millions: And as there are about a hundred *Convents* in *Naples*, so every one of these, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth seeing, tho the riches of the greater *Convents* here, make many of them to be less visited. Every year there is a new *Governour* of the *Annunciata*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thousand *Crowns*; and to make some Compensation when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vast piece of *Plate* to the House, a *Statue* for a Saint in *Silver*, or some *Colos* of a Candlestick; for several of those pieces of plate are said to be worth ten thousand *Crowns*; and thus all the *Silver* of *Naples* becomes dead and useless: The Jesuites are great Merchants here; their *Wine-Cellar* is a vast Vault, and holds above a thousand *Hogsheads*, and the best *Wine* of *Naples* is sold by them; yet they do not retail it out so scandalously as the *Minims* do, who live on the great square before the *Viceroys Palace*, and sell out their Wine by retail: they pay no Duty, and have extraordinary good Wine, and are in the best Place of the *Town* for this re-

retail. It is true, the *Neapolitans* are no great Drinkers, so the Profits of this Tavern are not so great as they would be in colder Countries, for here men go only in for a draught in the mornings, or when they are athirst. Yet the *House* groweth extream rich, and hath one of the finest *Chappels* that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade seems very unbecoming men of that Profession, and of so strict an *Order*. The *Convents* have a very particular priviledge in this Town, for they may buy all the Houses that ly on either side, till the first street that discontinueth the Houses; and there being scarce a street in *Naples* in which there is not a *Convent*, by this means they may come to buy in the whole Town: And the progress that the Wealth of the *Clergy* makes in this *Kingdom* is so visible, that if there is not some stop put to it, within an Age they will make themselves Masters of the whole *Kingdom*: It is an amazing thing to see so profound an ignorance, as reigns among the *Clergy*, prevail so effectually; for tho all the Secular persons here, speak of them with all possible scorn, yet they are the Masters of the Spirits of the People. The Women are infinitly Superstitious, and give their husbands no rest, but as they draw from them great presents to the *Church*. It is true, there are *Societies* of men at *Naples* of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of *Italy*: The *Greek Learning* begins to flourish there, and the *new Philosophy* is much studied; and there is an *Assembly* that is held in *D. Joseph Valleta's*

Vatteta's Library (where there is a vaſt Collection of well choſen Books) compoſed of *Men* that have a right taſt of true Learning and good Senſe: They are ill looked on by the *Clergy*, and repreſented as a ſet of *Atheiſts*, and as the Spawn of *Pomponatius's* School: But I found no ſuch thing among them; for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a conſiderable number of them, during the ſhort ſtay that I made among them: There is a learned Lawyer, *Franciſco d'Andria*, that is conſidered as one of the moſt inquiſitive Men of the Aſſembly: There is alſo a Grandchild of the *Great Alciat*, who is very curious as well as learned. Few *Churchmen* come into this attempt for the reviving of Learning among them: On the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all things. Only one Eminent Preacher, *Rinaldi*, that is Archdeacon of *Capua*, aſſociates himſelf with them: he was once of the *Jeſuits Order*, but left it; and as that alone ſerved to give a good Character of him to me, ſo upon a long converſation with him, I found a great many other things that poſſeſſed me with a high value for him. Some *Phyſicians* in *Naples* are brought under the Scandal of *Atheiſm*; and it is certain, that in *Italy*, men of ſearching underſtandings, who have no other Idea of the *Chriſtian Religion*, but that which they ſee received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite; for they believing it all alike in groſs, without diſtinction, and finding ſuch notorious Cheats as appear in many parts of their *Religion*, are upon

upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preaching of the *Monks* in *Naples* are terrible things. I saw a *Jesuit* go in a sort of a Procession, with a great company about him, and calling upon all that he saw, to follow him to a place where a *Mountebank* was selling his *Medicines*, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the people with a sort of a *Farce*, till the *Mountebank* got him to give over; fearing lest his action should grow tedious, and disperse the company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor men of any reputation for learning among the *Jesuites*: I was told, they had not men capable to teach their *Schools*, and that they were forced to hire Strangers. The *Order* of the *Oratory* hath not that reputation in *Italy*, that it hath gained in *France*; and the little Learning that is among the *Clergy* in *Naples*, is among some few Secular *Priests*.

The new Method of *Molino's* doth so much prevail in *Naples*, that it is believed, he hath above twenty thousand Followers in this *City*: And since this hath made some noise in the World, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him: He is a *Spanish Priest*, that seems to be but an ordinary *Divine*, and is certainly a very ill Reasoner, when he undertakes to prove his Opinions: He hath writ a Book, which is intituled, *il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short abstract of the *Mystical Divinity*; the Substance of the whole, is reduced to this, *That in our Prayers, and other Devotions, the best*

Methods are to retire the mind from all groſs Images, and ſo to form an Act of Faith, and thereby to preſent our ſelves before God: and then to ſink into a ſilence and ceſſation of new Acts, and to let God act upon us, and ſo to follow his Conduct: This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new Acts, and different forms of Devotion; and he makes ſmall Account of corporal Auſterities, and reduces all the Exerciſes of *Religion* to this ſimplicity of Mind: He thinks this is not only to be propoſed to ſuch as live in *Religious Houſes*, but even to *Secular* perſons, and by this he hath propoſed a great Reformation of mens Minds and Manners; He hath many *Prieſts* in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Naples*, that diſpoſe thoſe who confeſs themſelves to them, to follow his Method: The *Jeſuites* have ſet themſelves much againſt this conduct, as foreſeeing, that it may much weaken the *Empire* that *Superſtition* hath over the Minds of People, that it may make *Religion* become a more plain and ſimple thing, and may alſo open a door to *Enthuſiaſms*: they alſo pretend, that his conduct is Factious and Seditious; that this may breed a *Schiſm* in the *Church*. And becauſe he ſaith, in ſome places of his Book, *That the Mind may riſe up to ſuch a Simplicity in its Acts, that it may riſe in ſome of its Devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Chriſt*, they have accuſed him, as intending to lay aſide the Doctrine of *Chriſt's Humanity*; tho it is plain, that he ſpeaks only, *of the purity of ſome ſingle Acts*:

Upon

Upon all those heads, they have set themselves much against *Molino's*; and they have also pretended, that some of his Disciples have infused into their Penitents, *That they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to Confession*; which they thought weakned much the yoke, by which the *Priests* subdue the Consciences of the People to their Conduct: Yet he was much supported both in the *Kingdom* of *Naples* and in *Sicily*; he had also many Friends and Followers at *Rome*. So the *Jesuites*, as a *Provincial* of the *Order* assured me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great *King*, that is now extreamly in the *interests* of their *Order*, to interpose, and to represent to the *Pope* the danger of such Innovations. It is certain, the *Pope* understands the matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great opinion of *Molino's* Sanctity; yet upon the Complaints of some *Cardinals*, that seconded the Zeal of that *King*, he and some of his Followers were clapt in the *Inquisition*, where they have been now for some Months, but they are still well used, which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the *Pope* hath of him; who saith still, that tho he may have erred, yet he is certainly a good man. Upon this Imprisonment, *Pasquin* said a pleasant thing, in one week; *one man* had been condemned to the Gallies *for somewhat he had said*, *another* had been hanged *for somewhat he had writ*, and *Molinos* was clapt in prison, whose Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, that

men ought to bring their minds to a ſtate of inward quietneſs, from which the name of *Quietiſts* was given to all his followers: The *Paſquinade* upon all this, was, *Si parliamo, in Galere, ſi ſcrivemmo Impiccati, ſi ſtiamo in quiete all' Sant' Offizio, e che biſogna fare: If we ſpeak, we are ſent to the* Gallies; *if we write, we are* hanged; *if we ſtand quiet, we are clapt up in the* Inquiſition: *what muſt we do then?* Yet his Followers at *Naples* are not daunted, but they believe, he will come out of this Tryal victorious.

The City of *Naples*, as it is the beſt ſituated, and in the beſt Climate, ſo it is one of the Nobleſt Cities of *Europe*; and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *London*, yet it hath much more beauty than either of them: The Streets are large and broad, the Pavement is great and Noble, the Stones being generally above a foot ſquare, and it is full of Palaces, and great Buildings: The Town is well ſupplied by daily Markets, ſo that Proviſions are ever freſh, and in great plenty; the Wine is the beſt of *Europe*; and both the Fiſh and Fleſh is extream good: it is ſcarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a freſh Air comes, both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The *Viceroy's Palace* is no extraordinary building, only the Stair-caſe is great: But it is now very richly furniſhed within, in *Pictures* and *Statues*: There are in it ſome *Statues* of the *Egyptian Deities* of *Touchſtone*, that are of great value: There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an ancient

ancient *Roman Portico*, that is very Noble, before *Saint Pauls Church*. But without the City near the *Church* and *Hoſpital* of *Saint Gennaro*, that is without the Gates, are the Noble *Catacombs*: which becauſe they were beyond any thing I ſaw in *Italy*, and to which the *Catacombs* of *Rome* are not to be compared, and ſince I do not find any account of them, in all the Books that I have yet ſeen concerning *Naples*, I ſhall deſcribe them more particularly.

They are vaſt and long *Galleries* cut out of the *Rock*; there are three Stories of them one above another. I was in two of them, but the *Rock* is fallen in the loweſt, ſo that one cannot go into it, but I ſaw the paſſage to it: Theſe *Galleries* are generally about twenty foot broad, and about fifteen foot high: ſo that they are Noble and ſpacious places, and not little and narrow as the *Catacombs* at *Rome*, which are only three or four foot broad, and five or ſix foot high. I was made believe, that theſe *Catacombs* of *Naples* went into the Rock nine mile long; but for that I have it only by report: Yet if that be true, they may perhaps run towards *Puzzolo*, and ſo they may have been the buriab places of the *Towns* on that *Bay*; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found *Galleries* going off on all hands without end, and whereas in the *Roman Catacombs* there are not above three or four rows of *Niches*, that are cut out in the *Rock* one over another,

other, into which the *dead Bodies* were laid; here there are generally ſix or ſeven rows of thoſe *Niches*, and they are both larger and higher; ſome *Niches* are for *Childrens* Bodies; and in many places there are in the Floors, as it were great Cheſts hewn out of the *Rock*, to lay the bones of the dead as they dried, in them; but I could ſee no marks either of a cover for theſe holes, that looked like the bellys of Cheſts, or of a facing to ſhut up the *Niches* when a dead Body was laid in them; ſo that it ſeems they were monſtrous unwholeſome and ſtinking places, where ſome thouſands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to ſhut in ſo loathſome a ſight, and ſo odious a ſmell: For the *Niches* ſhew plainly, that the Bodies were laid in them only wrapt in the dead Cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In ſome places of the *Rock* there is as it were a little *Chappel* hewn out in the *Rock*, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are *Niches* all round about; but I ſaw no marks of any Wall, that ſhut in ſuch places; tho I am apt to think, theſe might be burying places appropriated to particular Families. There is in ſome places on the Walls and Arch, Old *Moſaick Work*, and ſome Painting, the Colours are freſh, and the Manner and Characters are *Gothick*, which made me conclude, that this might have been done by the *Normans*, about ſix hundred years ago, after they drove out the *Saracens*: In ſome Places there are Palmtrees painted,

and

and Vines in other places. The freshness of the Colours, shews these could not have been done while this place was imployed for burying; for the Steams and Rottenness of the air, occasioned by so much Corruption, must have dissolved both Plaister and Colours. In one place, there is a *Man* painted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his head: there is *another* reaching him a Garland, and by his head *Linus* is written, and this is repeated in another place right over against it. In another place I found a Cross painted, and about the upper part of it these Letters I. C. X. O. and in the lower part N. I. K. A. are painted: A learned *Antiquary*, that went with me, agreed with me, that the manner of the Painting and Characters did not seem to be above six hundred years old: but neither of us knew what to make of these Letters: The lower seemed to relate to the last word of the *Vision*, which it is said that *Constantine* saw with the *cross* that appeared to him: But tho the first two Letters might be for *Jesus*, it being ordinary in old Coyns and Inscriptions to put a C. for an S. and X. stands for *Christ*, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unless it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little line in the bosom of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it stands for *Theos*; and thus the whole Inscription is, *Jesus Christ God overcameth*. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *Sta Johannes*, which was a clear sign of a barbarous *Age*: In another place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three

three Pictures under it, that at top, had no Inſcription; thoſe below it, had theſe Inſcriptions, *S. Katharina*, *S. Agape*, and *S. Margarita*, theſe Letters are clearly modern; beſides that, *Margaret* and *Katherine* are modern names: and the addition of *ta* a little above the *S.* were manifeſt evidences, that the higheſt Antiquity that can be aſcribed to this Painting, is ſix hundred years. I ſaw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkneſs, and the thick Air of the place, ſo I ſtayed not above an hour in the *Catacombs*. This made me reflect more particularly on the *Catacombs of Rome*, than I had done; I could imagine no reaſon why ſo little mention is made of thoſe of *Naples*, when there is ſo much ſaid concerning thoſe of *Rome*; and could give my ſelf no other account of the matter, but that it being a maxim to keep up the reputation of the *Roman Catacombs*, as the *Repoſitories* of the *Reliques* of the primitive *Chriſtians*, it would have much leſsned their credit, if it had been thought, that there were *Catacombs* far beyond them in all reſpects, that yet cannot be ſuppoſed to have been the work of the primitive *Chriſtians*; and indeed, nothing ſeems more evident, than that theſe were the *common Burying Places* of the ancient *Heathens*. One enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the twelve Tables, and ſuch are the *Catacombs of Rome* that I ſaw, which were thoſe of *S. Agnes* and *S. Sebaſtian*, the entry into them being without the Town; this anſwers the Law, tho in effect they run under it; for

for in thoſe dayes, when they had not the uſe of the *Needle*, they could not know which way they carried on thoſe works, when they were once ſo far ingaged under ground, as to loſe themſelves. It is a vain imagination to think, that the *Chriſtians*, in the primitive times, were able to carry on ſuch a work; for as this prodigious digging into ſuch *Rocks*, muſt have been a very viſible thing by the Mountains of Rubbiſh that muſt have been brought out, and by the vaſt number of Hands that muſt have been imployed in it; ſo it is abſurd to think, that they could hold their *Aſſemblies* amidſt the annoyance of ſo much corruption. I found the Steams ſo ſtrong, that tho I am as little ſubject to Vapours as moſt men, yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a Confuſion, and as it were a boyling in my Head, that diſordered me extreamly; and if there is now ſo much *ſtagnating Air* there, this muſt have been ſenſible in a more eminent and inſufferable manner while there were vaſt numbers of bodies rotting in thoſe *Niches*. But beſides this improbability, that preſents it ſelf from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a paſſage of a *Letter* of *Cornelius*, that was *Biſhop of Rome*, after the middle of the *third Century*, which is preſerved by *Euſebius* in his ſixth *Book*, Chapter 43. in which we have the State of the *Church* of *Rome* at that time ſet forth. There were forty ſix *Presbyters*, ſeven *Deacons*, as many *Subdeacons*, and ninety four of the Inferior *Orders* of the *Clergy* among them: there were

alſo

alſo fifteen hundred *Widows*, and other poor maintained out of the publick Charities. It may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the numbers of the *Chriſtians* were as great when this *Epiſtle* was writ, as they were at any time before *Conſtantine's* dayes; for as this was writ at the end of that long Peace, of which both *S. Cyprian* and *Lactantius* ſpeak, that had continued above a hundred years; ſo after this time, there was ſuch a ſucceſſion of *Perſecutions*, that came ſo thick one upon another, after ſhort intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the *Chriſtians* increaſed much beyond what they were at this time. Now there are two particulars in this State of the *Clergy*, upon which one may make a probable eſtimate of the numbers of the *Chriſtians*; the one is, their *Poor*, which were but *fifteen hundred*: now upon an exact ſurvey, it will be found, that where the poor are well looked to, their number riſes generally to be the *thirtieth* or *fortieth* part of mankind: and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the *Poor* among the *Chriſtians* of that Age: For as their Charity was vigorous and tender, ſo we find *Celſus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Porphiry*, and others, Object this to the *Chriſtians* of that time, that their Charities to the *Poor* drew vaſt numbers of the lower ſort among them, who made themſelves *Chriſtians*, that they might be ſupplied by their Brethren? So that this being the State of the *Chriſtians* then, we may reckon the *Poor* the thirtieth part, and ſo fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty,

thirty, produce five and forty thouſand: And I am the more inclined to think, that this riſes up near to the full ſum of their numbers, by the other Character of the numbers of the *Clergy*; for as there were forty ſix *Presbyters*, ſo there were ninety four of the inferior *Orders*, who were two more than double the number of the *Prieſts*: and this was in a time in which the Care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted *Ages*, the *Clergy* having then really more work on their hands, the inſtructing of their *Catechumens*, the viſiting their Sick, and the ſupporting and comforting the Weak; being Tasks that required ſo much application, that in ſo vaſt a *City*, as *Rome* was in thoſe dayes, in which it is probable the *Chriſtians* were ſcattered over the *City*, and mixed in all the parts of it, we make a conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon, that every *Presbyter* had perhaps about a thouſand *Souls* committed to his Care, ſo this riſes to ſix and forty thouſand: which comes very near the ſum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the number of their *Poor*. So that about *fifty thouſand* is the higheſt account to which we can reaſonably raiſe the numbers of the *Chriſtians of Rome* in that time: And of ſo many perſons, the Old, the Young, and the Women, make more than three fourth parts; ſo that men that were in condition to work, were not above *twelve thouſand*: and by conſequence, they were in no condition to undertake and carry on ſo vaſt a Work.

If

If *Cornelius* in that *Letter* ſpeaks of the numbers of the *Chriſtians* in exceſſive terms, and if *Tertullian* in his Apology hath alſo ſet out the numbers of the *Chriſtians* of his time, in a very high ſtrain, that is only to be aſcribed to a pompous Eloquence, which diſpoſeth people to magnifie their own Party, and we muſt allow a good deal to a hyperbole, that is very natural to all that ſet forth their Forces in general terms. It is true, it is not ſo clear when thoſe vaſt *Cavities* were dug out of the *Rocks*. We know, that when the *Laws* of the twelve *Tables* were made, *Sepulture* was then in uſe: and *Rome* being then grown to a vaſt bigneſs, no doubt they had *Repoſitories* for their *Dead*: ſo that ſince none of the *Roman Authors* mention any ſuch work, it may not be unreaſonable to Imagine, that theſe Vaults had been wrought and cut out from the firſt beginnings of the *City*, and ſo the later Authors had no occaſion to take notice of it. It is alſo certain, that tho *Burning* came to be in uſe among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their firſt *Cuſtom* of *Burying* Bodies long before *Conſtantines* time; ſo that it was not the *Chriſtian Religion* that produced this change. All our modern Writers take it for granted, that the change was made in the times of the *Antonins*: yet there being no Law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an Age full of writers, of any orders that were given for Burying-places, *Velſerus* opinion ſeems more probable, that the Cuſtom of Burning wore out by degrees

grees; and ſince we are ſure, that they once *buried*, it is more natural to think, that the *Slaves* and the meaner ſort of people were ſtill *Buried*, that being a leſs expenceful, and a more ſimple way of beſtowing their Bodies, than *Burning*, which was both pompous and chargeable; and, if there were already *Burying places* prepared, it is much eaſier to imagin how the Cuſtom of *Burying* grew Univerſal without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for ſome time find out upon what grounds the *Modern Criticks* take it for granted, that Burying began in the times of the *Antonins*, till I had the happineſs to talk of this matter with the learned *Gronovius*, who ſeems to be ſuch a Maſter of all the Antient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying alwayes open before him: he told me, that it was certain, the change from *Burning* to *Burying*, was not made by the *Chriſtian Emperours*; for *Macrobius* (lib. 7. chap. 7.) ſayes, in plain terms, that the Cuſtom of *Burning* the *Bodies* of the *Dead*, was quite worn out in that age: which is a clear Intimation, that it was not laid aſide ſo late as by *Conſtantine*; and as there was no Law made by him on that head, ſo he and the ſucceeding *Emperours*, gave ſuch an entire toleration to *Paganiſm*, admitting thoſe of that *Religion* to the greateſt Imployments, that it is not to be imagined, that there was any order given againſt *Burning*; ſo that it is clear, the *Heathens* had changed it of their own accord: otherwayes we ſhould have found that among the Complaints

plaints that they made of the Grievances under which they lay from the *Chriſtians*. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made. *Gronovius* ſhewed me a paſſage of *Phlegons*, that mentions the Bodies that were laid in the Ground; yet he did not build on that; for it may have relation to the cuſtoms of *Burying* that might be elſewhere. And ſo *Petronius* gives the account of the *Burial* of the *Epheſian Matrons husband*: but he made it apparent to me, that *Burying* was commonly practiſed in *Commodus's* time; for *Xiphilinus* tells us, that in *Pertinax's* time, the Friends of thoſe whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to Death, had dug up their *Bodies*, ſome bringing out only ſome parts of them, and others raiſing their entire Bodies. The ſame Author alſo tells us, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus's* body, and ſo ſaved it from the Rage of the People, and here is a poſitive Evidence, that *Burying* was the common practiſe of that time. The ſame learned perſon has ſince my firſt converſation with him upon this ſubject, ſuggeſted to me two paſſages of *Feſtus Pompeius*, that ſeem to determiné this whole matter; and that tell us, by what names thoſe *Catacombs* were known in the *Roman* time, where abouts they were, and what ſort of perſons were laid in them; we have alſo the deſignation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the Dead Bodies: and it appears particularly by them, that in the *Repoſitories*, of which that author makes mention, there was no care taken to

pre-

preserve the bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are. *Puticulos antiquissimum genus sepulturæ appellatos, quod ibi in puteis sepelirentur homenes: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici solent, extra portam Esquilinam: quæ quod ibi putescerent, inde prius appellatos existimat puticulos Aelius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putescerent, nomen esse factum puticuli.* The other passage runs thus. *Vespæ & Vespillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non à minutis illis volucribus, sed quia vespertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees so exactly to the thoughts, that a general view of those Repositories give a man, that it will not be hard to perswade him, that those *Burying places*, that are now graced with the pompous title of *Catacombs*, are no other than the *Putecoli* mentioned by *Festus Pompeius*, where the meanest sort of the *Roman slaves* were laid, and so without any further care about them were left to rot.

It is true, it is very probable, that as we see some of the *Roman Families* continued to *Bury* their Dead, even when *Burning* was the more common Custom; so perhaps others continued after this to burn their dead, the thing being Indifferent, and no Law being made about it; and therefore it was particularly objected to the *Christians* after this time, that they abhorred the Custom of

Burning the Bodies of the Dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Felix*; but this or any other evidences, that may be brought from *Medalls* of Conſecrations after this time, will only prove, that ſome were ſtill Burnt, and that the *Chriſtians* practiſed *Burying* Univerſally, as expreſſing their belief of the Reſurrection; whereas the *Heathens* held the thing Indifferent. It is alſo clear, from the many genuine *Inſcriptions* that have been found in the *Catacombs*, which bear the dates of the *Conſuls*, that theſe were the common *Burial-Places* of all the *Chriſtians* of the *fourth* and *fifth* Century; for I do not remember, that there is any one date that is Antienter; and yet not one of the *Writers* of thoſe *Ages* ſpeak of them, as the Work of the *Primitive Chriſtians*. They ſpeak indeed of the *Burial-Places* of the *Martyrs*; but that will prove no more, but that the *Chriſtians* might have had their Quarters, and their Walks in thoſe common *Burial-Places*, where they laid their *Dead*, and which might have been known among them, tho it is not likely, that they would in times of *Perſecution* make ſuch *Inſcriptions* as might have expoſed the *Bodies* of their dead Friends to the Rage of their Enemies. And the Spurious Acts of ſome *Saints* and *Martyrs*, are of too little credit to give any ſupport to the common Opinion. *Damaſus*'s *Poetry* is of no better Authority. And tho thoſe Ages were inclined enough to give credit to Fables, yet it ſeems this of thoſe *Catacombs*, having been the work of the *Primitive Chriſtians*,

was

was too groſs a thing to have been ſo early Impoſed on the World. And this ſilence in an *Age*, in which *Superſtition* was going on at ſo great a rate, has much force in it; for ſo vaſt a Work, as thoſe *Catacombs* are, muſt have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were eaſy to carry this much further, and to ſhew, that the *Bas Reliefs*, that have been found in ſome of thoſe *Catacombs*, have nothing of the beauty of the Ancient *Roman* time. This is alſo more diſcernable in many *Inſcriptions* that are more *Gothick* than *Roman*; and there are ſo many *Inſcriptions* relating to Fables, that it is plain, theſe were of later times; and we ſee by *Saint Jerom*, that the *Monks* began, even in his time, to drive a trade of *Reliques*; ſo it is no wonder, that to raiſe the credit of ſuch a heap, as was never to be exhauſted, they made ſome miſerable *Sculptures*, and ſome *Inſcriptions*; and perhaps ſhut up the entrys into them with much care and ſecreſy, intending to open them upon ſome Dream or other Artifice, to give them the more Reputation, which was often practiſed in order to the drawing much Wealth and great Devotion, even to ſome ſingle *Relique*; and a few being upon this Secret, either thoſe might have dyed, or by the many Revolutions that hapned in *Rome*, they might have been diſperſed before they made the diſcovery: And thus the knowledge of thoſe places was loſt, and came to be diſcovered by accident in the laſt *Age*, and hath ever ſince ſupplied them with an inexhauſtible *Magazin* of *Bones*,

which by all appearance are no other than the *Bones* of the *Pagan Romans*; which are now ſent over the World to feed a Superſtition, that is as blind as it proves expenſive. And thus the *Bones* of the *Roman Slaves*, or at leaſt, thoſe of the meaner ſort, are now ſet in *Silver* and *Gold*, with a great deal of other coſtly Garniture, and entertain the *Superſtition* of thoſe who are willing to be deceived, as well as they ſerve the ends of thoſe that ſeek to deceive the World. But becauſe it cannot be pretended, that there was ſuch a number of *Chriſtians* at *Naples*, as could have wrought ſuch *Catacombs*, and if it had been once thought, that thoſe were the common *Burial-places* of the ancient *Heathens*, that might have induced the World to think, that the *Roman Catacombs* were no other; therefore there hath been no care taken to examin theſe. I thought this deſerved a large diſcourſe, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this ſubject.

I will not enter upon a long deſcription of that which is ſo well known, as *Mont Veſuvio*, it had roared ſo loud about a *month* before I came to *Naples*, that at *Naples* they could hardly ſleep in the Nights, and ſome old Houſes were ſo ſhaken by the *Earthquake*, that was occaſioned by this convulſion of the Hill, that they fell to the ground: And the great Convulſion above *fifty years* ago, was ſo terrible, that there was no ſmall fear in *Naples*, tho it lyes at the diſtance of *ſeven Miles* from the Hill, yet the Storm was choaked under ground; for tho it ſmoakt much more

more than ordinary, yet there was no eruption: It was indeed *ſmoking* not only in the mouth of the little *Mount*, that is formed within the great waſt that the fire hath made, but alſo all along the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this *Mountain* (which is four miles in compaſs) and that inward *Hill*. When one ſees the Mouth of this fire, and ſo great a part of the Hill which is covered ſome foot deep with aſhes and ſtones of a metallick Compoſition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but ſtand amazed, and wonder what can be the Fuel of ſo laſting a Burning, that hath calcined ſo much matter, and ſpewed out ſuch prodigious quantities. It is plain, there are vaſt *Veins* of *Sulphur* all along in this Soil, and it ſeems in this *Mountain* they run along through ſome *Mines* and *Rocks*; and as their ſlow conſumption produceth a perpetual ſmoke, ſo when the Air within is ſo much rarified that it muſt open it ſelf, it throws up thoſe maſſes of *Mettle* and *Rock* that ſhut it in; but how this *Fire* draws in *Air* to nouriſh its Flame, is not ſo eaſily apprehended, unleſs there is either a conveyance of Air under ground, by ſome undiſcovered vacuity, or a more inſenſible tranſmiſſion of *Air*, through the pores of the *Earth*. The heat of this Hill operates ſo much upon the Soil, that lyes upon it towards the foot of it, that it produceth the richeſt Wine about *Naples*, and it alſo purifieth the Air ſo much, that the *Village* at the bottom is thought the *beſt Air* of the *Coun-*

try, ſo that many come from *Naples* thither for their health. *Iſchia*, that is an *Island* not far from *Naples*, doth alſo ſometimes ſpew out fire.

On the other ſide of *Naples* to the Weſt, one paſſeth through the *Cave* that pierceth the *Pauſalippe*, and is four hundred and forty paces long; for I walked it on foot to take its true meaſure; it is twenty foot broad, and at firſt forty foot high, but afterwards it is but twenty foot high; the *Stone* cut out here is good for building; ſo that as this opened the way from *Puzzoli* to *Naples*, it was alſo a *Quarry* for the building of the *Town*: All along the way here, one diſcovers a ſtrange boiling within the ground; for a little beyond this *Grot* of *Pauſalippe*, as we come near the *Lake* of *Aniano*, there is of the one Hand, a *Bath*, occaſioned by a *Steam* that riſeth ſo *hot* out of the ground, that as ſoon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himſelf all over in a ſweat, which is very proper for ſome *Diſeaſes*, eſpecially that which carries its name from *Naples*: And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little *Grot*, that ſends out a *Poyſonous Steam*, that as it puts out a Candle, as ſoon as it cometh near it, ſo it infallibly *killeth* any living Creature within a minute of time; for in half that time a *Dog*, upon which the Experiment is commonly try'd (the *Grot* being from thence called *Grotto di Cane*) fell into a convulſion. From that one goeth to ſee the poor Reſts of *Puzzoli*, and of all that *Bay*, that was once all about, a tract of *Towns*,

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it having been the retreat of the *Romans*, during the heats of the Summer. All the *Rarities* here, have been ſo often, and ſo copiouſly deſcribed, that I am ſenſible I can add nothing to what is ſo well known. I will ſay nothing of the *Amphitheater*, or of *Cicero* and *Virgils* Houſes, for which there is nothing but a dubious tradition; they are ancient brick buildings of the *Roman* way, and the vaults of *Virgil's Houſe* are ſtill intire: The *Sulfatara* is a ſurprizing thing; here is a bottom, out of which the force of the Fire, that breaks out ſtill in many places, in a thick ſteaming ſmoke, that is full of *Brimſtone*, did throw up about a hundred and fifty *years* ago, a vaſt quantity of Earth, which was carried above three miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo*, upon the Ruins of a Town, that was overwhelmed with this Eruption, which is of a very conſiderable height; they told me, that there was before that time a *Channel*, that went, from the *Bay* into the *Lake of Averno*, of which one ſees the beginnings in the *Bay* at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, it carrieth ſtill the name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Cæſar*. But by the ſwelling of the ground upon the Eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this paſſage is ſtopt, and the *Averno* is now freſh Water; it is eighteen fathom deep. On the ſide of it is that amazing *Cave*, where the *Sybil* is ſaid to have given out her *Inſpirations*: the hewing it out of the *Rock*, hath been a prodigious Work; for the *Rock* is one of the hardeſt Stones in the World, and the

Cave goeth in ſeven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and as I could gueſs, eighteen foot high: and from the end of this great *Gallery*, there is a narrow paſſage of three foot broad, two hundred foot long, and ſeven high, to a little apartment, to which we go in a conſtant ſloping deſcent from the great *Cave*; here are three little rooms, in one of them there are ſome Reſts of an Old *Moſaick*, with which the Walls and Roof were laid over; there is alſo a ſpring of Water, and a *Bath*, in which it is ſuppoſed the *Sybil* bathed her ſelf; and from this *Cave* it is ſaid, that there runs a *Cave* all along to *Cuma*, which is three long miles, but the paſſage is now choakt by the falling in of the *Rock* in ſeveral places: This piece of *Work* amazed me. I did not much mind the popular opinion that is eaſily received there, that all this was done by the *Devil*; the marks of the Chizzel in all the parts of the *Rock* ſheweth, that this is not a work of Nature. Certainly they had both much leiſure, and many hands at their command who ſet about it; and it ſeems to have been wrought out with no other deſign, but to ſubdue the *People* more intirely to the conduct of the *Prieſts* that managed this *Impoſture*; ſo buſie and induſtrious hath the Ambition and Fraud of the *Prieſts* been in all *Ages*, and in all corrupt *Religions*. But of all the Scenes of Noble Objects that preſent it ſelf in the *Bay* of *Puzzolo*, the Reſts of *Caligula's Bridge* are the moſt amazing; for there are yet ſtanding *eight* or *ten* of the *Pillars* that ſupported the

Arches,

Arches, and of ſome of the *Arches*, the half is yet intire. I had not a line with me to examine the depth of the Water where the furtheſt of thoſe *Pillars* is built; but my *Waterman* aſſured me, it was fifty Cubits. I have ſince my being in *Naples*, inſtructed one that was going thither in this particular, and have received this account from him; that he had taken care to plum the water at the furtheſt pillar of *Caligula's bridge*, on the *Puzzolo* ſide; and found it was ſeven fathom and a half deep: but he adds, that the Watermen aſſured him, that on the other ſide before *Baia*, the water was twenty ſix fathom deep: but as he had not a plummet long enough to try that, ſo he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Watermen had aſſured him, that the Water was ten fathom deep on the *Puzzoli* ſide, tho upon tryal he found it was only ſeven and a half: and by this meaſure one may ſuppoſe that the water is twenty fathom deep on the other ſide: ſo that it is one of the moſt aſtoniſhing things that one can think of, that *pillars of Brick* could have been built in ſuch a depth of water.

This I cannot believe, but it is certainly ſo deep that one can ſcarce imagin how it was poſſible to build in ſuch a depth, and for the carrying off of the Sea, that ſeems yet more impoſſible. It is a Noble *Monument* of the profuſe and extravagant Expence of a *Brutal Tyrant*, who made one of the vaſteſt *Bridges* that ever was attempted, over three or four Miles of

Sea: meerly to ſacrifice ſo great a Treaſure to his Vanity: As for *Agripina's Tomb*, it is no great matter, only the *Bas Reliefs* are yet entire. The marvellous *Fish-Pond* is a great Baſin of Water, wrought like a huge *Temple*, ſtanding upon eight and forty great *Pillars*, all hewed out of the *Rock*; and they are laid over with four cruſts of the old Plaiſter, which is now as hard as ſtone; this is believed to be a work of *Nero's*: and about a quarter of a mile from thence, there is another vaſt work, which goeth into a *Rock*; but at the entrance there is a noble *Portico* built of *Pillars of Brick*; and as one enters into the *Rock*, he finds a great many rooms regularly ſhaped, hewed out of the Rock, and all covered over with Plaiſter, which is ſtill intire, and ſo white, that one can hardly think that it hath not been waſhed over ſince it was firſt made; there are a vaſt number of thoſe Rooms, they are ſaid to be a hundred; from whence this *Cave* carrieth the name of the *Centum Cameræ*: This hath been as expenſive a work as it is uſeleſs; it is intituled to *Nero*, and here they ſay he kept his *Priſoners*. But there is nothing in all this *Bay* that is both ſo curious and ſo uſeful as the *Baths*, which ſeem to flow from the ſame reaſon that is the cauſe of theſe *Eruptions* in the *Veſuvio* and *Sulfatara*, and the *Grottos* formerly mentioned, that as this heat makes ſome *Fountains* there to be *boiling hot*, ſo it ſends up a *ſteam* through the *Rock*, that doth not break through the pores of the Stone where it is hard;

but

but where the *Rock* is ſoft and ſpungy, there the ſteams come through with ſo melting a heat, that a man is ſoon, as it were, diſſolved in ſweat; but if he ſtoops low in the paſſages that are cut in the Rock, he finds no heat, becauſe there the Rock is hard. Thoſe *Steams*, as they are all *Hot*, ſo they are impregnated with ſuch *Minerals* as they find in their way through the *Rock*; and near this *Bath* there are *Galleries* hewed out of the *Rock*, and faced with a building; in which there are, as it were, Bedſteads made in the Walls, upon which, thoſe that come thither, to ſweat for their health, lay their Quilts and Bed-cloaths, and ſo come regularly out of their ſweats.

It is certain, that a man can no where paſs a day of his life, both with ſo much pleaſure, and with ſuch advantage, as he finds in this journey to *Puzzoli*, and all along the *Bay*: but tho anciently this was all ſo well built, ſo peopled, and ſo beautifully laid out, yet no where doth one ſee more viſibly what a change Time brings upon all places: for *Naples* hath ſo intirely eat out this place, and drawn its *Inhabitants* to it, that as *Puzzoli* it ſelf is but a ſmall *Village*, ſo there is now no other in all this *Bay*, which was anciently built almoſt all round; for there were ſeven big *Towns* upon it. Having thus told you what I found moſt conſiderable in *Naples*, I cannot paſs by that Noble remnant of the *Via Apia*, that runs along thirty miles of the *Way* between it and *Rome*, without making ſome mention of it: this *High-way* is twelve foot

foot broad, all made of huge *Stones*, moſt of them blew, and they are generally a foot and half large of all ſides: the ſtrength of this *Cauſeway* appears in its long duration, for it hath laſted above eighteen hundred *Years*; and is in moſt places for ſeveral miles together, as intire as when it was firſt made: and the Botches that have been made for mending ſuch places, that have been worn out by time, ſhews a very viſible difference between the ancient and the modern way of paving. One thing ſeems ſtrange, that the way is level with the earth on both ſides: whereas ſo much weight as thoſe *Stones* carry, ſhould have ſunk the ground under them by its preſſure: Beſides, that the Earth, eſpecially in low grounds, receives a conſtant increaſe chiefly by the duſt which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills, both which Reaſons ſhould make a more ſenſible difference between thoſe *Wayes* and the Soil on both ſides: and this makes me apt to believe, that anciently thoſe Wayes were a little raiſed above the level of the ground, and that a courſe of ſo many Ages hath now brought them to an equality: Thoſe Wayes were chiefly made for ſuch as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleaſant, than to walk along them, ſo nothing more inconvenient for Horſes and all ſorts of Carriage; and indeed *Mulets* are the only Beaſts of burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horſes after they have gone it a little while. There are ſeveral Reſts of *Roman*

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Antiquities at the *Mole* of *Cajeta*; but the *Iſle of Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way into the *Sea* off from *Naples*, gave me a ſtrange Idea of *Tiberius's* Reign, ſince it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary, to ſee a *Prince* abandon the beſt Seats and Palaces of *Italy*, and ſhut himſelf up in a little *Iſland*, in which I was told, there was a tradition of ſeven little *Palaces* that he built in it; or to ſee ſo vaſt a body as the *Roman Empire* ſo governed by ſuch a *Tyrannical Prince*, at ſuch a diſtance from the chief Seat, ſo that all might have been reverſed long before that the News of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, than to ſee ſo vaſt a *State*, that had ſo great a ſenſe of liberty, ſubdued by ſo brutal, and ſo voluptuous a *Man* as *Anthony*, and ſo raw a *Youth* as *Auguſtus*; ſo the wonder is much improved, when we ſee a *Prince* at a hundred and fifty *Miles* diſtance, ſhut up in an *Iſland*, carry the *Reins* of ſo great a *Body* in his hand, and turn it which way he pleaſed.

But now I come to *Rome*, which as it was once the *Empreſs* of the *World*, in a ſucceſſion of many Ages, ſo hath in it at preſent more *curious things* to entertain the attention of a *Traveller*, than any other place in *Europe*. On the ſide of *Tuſcany*, the entry into *Rome* is very ſurprizing to Strangers; for one cometh along for a great many miles, upon the

remains

remains of the *Via Flamminia*, which is not indeed ſo entire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raiſe a juſt Idea of the *Roman* Greatneſs, who laid ſuch *Cauſewayes* all *Italy* over. And within the Gate of the *Porta di Populo*, there is a Noble *Obelisk*, a vaſt *Fountain*, two fine little *Churches*, like two twins, reſembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on ſeveral hands one ſees a long *Viſta* of Streets. There is not a *Town* in theſe parts of the World, where the *Churches*, *Convents*, and *Palaces* are ſo Noble, and where the other Buildings are ſo mean; which indeed diſcovers very viſibly the Miſery under which the *Romans* groan. The *Churches of Rome* are ſo well known, that I will not adventure on any deſcription of them, and indeed, I had too tranſcient a view of them, to make it with that degree of exactneſs which the ſubject requires. *S. Peters* alone would make a big Book, not to ſay a long Letter. Its length, height, and breadth are all ſo exactly proportioned, and the eye is ſo equally poſſeſſed with all theſe, that the whole, upon the firſt view, doth not appear ſo vaſt as it is found to be upon a more particular attention: and as the four Pillars, upon which the *Cupulo* riſes, are of ſuch a prodigious bigneſs, that one would think they were ſtrong enough to bear any ſuperſtructure whatſoever; ſo when one climbs up to the top of that vaſt height, he wonders what Foundation can bear ſo huge a weight; for as the *Church* is of a vaſt

vaſt height, ſo the *Cupulo* riſes four hundred and fifteen big ſteps above the *Roof* of the *Church*. In the height of the Concave of this *Cupulo*, there is a repreſentation, that tho it can hardly be ſeen from the floor below, unleſs one hath a good ſight, and ſo it doth not perhaps give much ſcandal, yet it is a groſs indication of the *Idolatry* of that *Church*; for the *Divinity* is there pictured as an *ancient man* compaſſed about with *Angels*. I will ſay nothing of the great *Altar*, of the *Chair* of S. *Peter*; of the great *Tombs*, of which, the three chief are *Paul* the III. *Urban* the VIII. and *Alexander* the VII. nor of the vaſt *Vaults* under this *Church*, and the Remains of *Antiquity* that are reſerved in them: nor will I undertake a deſcription of the adjoyning *Palace*, where the painting of the *Corridori*, and of many of the Rooms, by *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* are ſo rich, that one is ſorry to ſee a work of that value laid on *Freſco*, and which muſt by conſequence wear out too ſoon, as in ſeveral places it is almoſt quite loſt already. I could not but obſerve in the *Sala Regia*, that is before the famous *Chappel* of *Siſto* V. and that is all painted in *Freſco*, one corner that repreſents the *Murther* of the renowned *Admiral Chaſtilion*, and that hath written under it thoſe words, *Rex Colinii necem probat*: The vaſt length of the *Gallery* on one ſide, and of the *Library* on another, do ſurprize one; the *Gardens* have many *Statues* of a moſt exceſ-

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five value, and some good *Fountains*; but the *Gardens* are ill maintained both here, and in the *Palace* on the *Quirinal*. And indeed, in most of the *Palaces* of *Rome*, if there were but a small cost laid out to keep all in good case, that is brought together at so vast a charge, they would make another sort of shew, and be looked at with much more pleasure. In the Apartments of *Rome* there are a great many things that offend the sight: The *Doors* are generally mean, and the *Locks* meaner, except in the *Palace* of *Prince Borgheſe*, where as there is the vasteſt collection of the beſt *Pieces*, and of the hands of the greateſt Maſters that are in all *Europe*, ſo the Doors and Locks give not that diſtaſt to the eye, that one finds elſewhere. The Flooring of the *Palaces* is all of *Brick*, which is ſo very mean, that one ſees the diſproportion that is between the Floors and the reſt of the Room, not without a ſenſible perception and diſlike. It is true, they ſay, their *Air* is ſo cold and moiſt in Winter, that they cannot pave with *Marble*; and the heat is ſometimes ſo great in Summer, that Flooring of Wood would crack with heat, as well as be eat up by the vermin that would neſtle in it. But if they kept in their great *Palaces* ſervants to waſh their Floors, with that care that is uſed in *Holland*, where the Air is moiſter, and the Climate is more productive of Vermine, they would not find ſuch effects from wooden floors, as they pretend. In a word, there are

none

none that lay out so much Wealth all at once, as the *Italians* do, upon the building and finishing of their *Palaces* and *Gardens*, and that afterwards bestow so little on the preserving of them: another thing I observed in their *Palaces*; there is indeed a great series of Noble *Rooms* one within another, of which their Apartments are composed; but I did not find, at the end of the Apartments, where the Bed-Chamber is, such a disposition of rooms for Back-stairs, Dressing-rooms, Closets, Servants rooms, and other Conveniences as are necessary for accommodating the Apartment. It is true, this is not so necessary for an apartment of State, in which *Magnificence* is more considered than Convenience; but I found the same want in those Apartments in which they lodged; so that notwithstanding all the Riches of their *Palaces*, it cannot be said, that they are well lodged in them; and their *Gardens*, are yet less understood, and worse kept than their *Palaces*. It is true, the *Villa Borgheſe* ought to be excepted, where, as there is a prodigious collection of *Bas Reliefs*, with which the Walls are, as it were, covered all over, that are of a vast value; so the *Statues* within, of which some are of *Porphiry*, and others of *Touch-stone*, are amazing things: The whole ground of this *Park*, which is about three miles in compass, and in which there are six or seven *Lodges*, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought I was in an *English Park*, when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better scituated

upon a higher Ground, and hath more *Water-works*, and twice the extent of the other in Soil, but neither doth the *Hall* nor *Stables* approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the grounds so well laid out and so well kept. But for the Furniture of the *Palaces* of *Rome*, the publick Apartments are all covered over with *Pictures*, and for those Apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furnished either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad gold Galloon at every breadth of the stuff, and a gold Fringe at top and bottom; but there is very little *Tapistry* in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this digression, from the general view, that I was giving you of the *Pope's Palace*. I named one part of it, which will ingage me into a new digression, as it well deserves one, and that is, the *Library* of the *Vatican*. The Case is great, but that which is lodged in it, is much greater; for here is a collection of *Books* that fills the mind as much as the eye. There is first a great *Hall*, and at the end of it there runs out on both sides, two *Galleries* of so vast a length, that tho the half of them is already furnished with *Books*, yet one would hope that there is room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The *Heidelberg Library* stands by it self, and fills the one side of the *Gallery*, as the *Duke of Urbin's* Library of *Manuscripts* fills the other. But tho these last are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of such Antiquity as those of *Heidelberg*. When it appeared that I was come from

England

England; King *Henry* the VIII's Book of the *Seven Sacraments*, with an Inscription writ upon it with his own Hand to *Pope Leo* the X. was shewed me; together with a collection of some *Letters* that he writ to *Anna Bolen*, of which some are in *English*, and some in *French*. I, that knew his *Hand* well, saw clearly that they were no Forgeries. There are not many *Latin Manuscripts* of great Antiquity in this *Library*; some few of *Virgil's* I saw writ in *Capitals*. But that which took up almost half of one day that I spent at one time in this place, related to the present dispute that is on foot between *Mr. Schelstrat* the Library-keeper, and *Mr. Maimbourg*, concerning the *Council of Constance*. The two Points in debate are the Words of the *Decree* made in the *fourth Session*, and the *Popes* Confirmation. In the *fourth Session*, according to the *French* Manuscripts, a *Decree* was made, subjecting the *Pope*, and all other Persons whatsoever, *to the Authority of the Council*, and to the *Decrees* it was to make, and to the *Reformation* it intended to establish both in the *Head* and the *Members*; which as it implyes, that the *Head* was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, so it sets the *Council* so directly above the *Pope*, that this *Session* being confirmed by the *Pope*, putteth those who affect the *Popes Infallibility* to no small straits: For if *Pope Martin*, that approved this *Decree*, was *infallible*, then this *Decree* is good still; and if he was *not infallible*, no other *Pope* was *infallible*. To all this *Schelstrat* an-

swers from his *Manuscripts*, that the words of *a Reformation in Head and Members*, are not in the *Decree* of that *Session*; and he did shew me several *Manuscripts*, of which *two* were evidently writ during the sitting of the *Council*, and were not at all dashed; in which these words were not. I know the hand and way of writing of that age too well to be easily mistaken in my judgement, concerning those *Manuscripts*: but if those words are wanting, there are other words in them that seem to be much stronger for the *superiority* of the *Council* above that *Pope*. For it is *Decreed*, that *Popes*, and all other persons, were bound to submit to the Decisions of the *Council*, as to *Faith*: which words are not in the *French Manuscripts*. Upon this I told *Mr. Scheffius*, that I thought the words in these *Manuscripts* were stronger than the other, since the word *Reformation*, as it was used in the time of that *Council*, belonged chiefly to the Correcting of Abuses, it being often applied to the *Reformations* that were made in the *Monastick Orders*, when they were brought to a more exact Observation of the *Rules* of their *Order*. So tho the *Council* had Decreed a *Reformation* both of *Head* and *Members*, I do not see that this would import more, than that the *Papacy* had fallen into some *Disorders* that needed a *Reformation*: and this is not denyed, even by those who affirm the *Popes Infallibility*: but a submission to points of *Faith*, that is expressly asserted in the *Roman Manuscripts*, is a much more positive Evidence against

against the *Popes Infallibility*, and the word *Faith* is not capable of so large a sense as may be justly urged to *Reformation*. But this difference, in so main a point between *Manuscripts* concerning so late a transaction, gave me an occasion to reflect on the vast uncertainty of *Tradition*, especially of matters that are at a great distance from us; when those that were so lately transacted, are so differently represented in *Manuscripts*, and in which, both those of *Paris*, and *Rome*, seem to carry all possible evidences of sincerity. As for the *Popes* confirmation of that *Decree*, it is true, by a *General Bull*, *Pope Martin* confirmed the *Council of Constance* to such a period, but besides that, he made a particular *Bull*, as *Schelstrat* assured me, in which he enumerated all the *Decrees* that he confirmed, and among those, this *Decree* concerning the *Supremacy* of the *Council* is not named; this seemed to be of much more importance, and therefore I desired to see the *Original* of the *Bull*; for there seems to be just reasons to apprehend a forgery here. He promised to do his indeavours, tho he told me, that would not be easy, for the *Bulls* were strictly kept; and the next day when I came, hoping to see it, I could not be admitted: but he assured me, that if that had not been the last day of my stay at *Rome*, he would have procured a Warrant for my seeing the *Original*: so this is all I can say as to the authenticalness of that *Bull*: But supposing it to be genuine, I could not agree to *Mr. Schelstrat*, that the Ge-

neral *Bull of Confirmation*, ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular *Decrees*: but since that particular *Bull* was never discovered till he hath found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the Forms of the *Chancery*, and was a fraudulent thing, of which no noise was to be made in that *Age*, and therefore in all the Dispute that followed in the *Council of Basil*, between the *Pope* and the *Council*, upon this very point, no mention was ever made of it by either side: and thus it can have no force, unless it be to discover the Artifices and Fraud of that *Court*: That at the same time in which the Necessity of their affairs obliged the *Pope* to confirm the *Decrees* of the *Council*, he contrived a secret *Bull*, which in another Age might be made use of, to weaken the Authority of the General *Confirmation* that he gave: and therefore a *Bull*, that doth not pass in due Form, and is not promulgated, is of no Authority: and so this pretended *Bull* cannot limit the other *Bull*. There were some other things, relating to this Debate, that were shewed me by *Mr. Schelstrat*; but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large account of the *Learned Men at Rome*: *Bellori* is deservedly famous for his knowledge of the *Greek* and *Egyptian Antiquities*, and for all that belongs to the *Mythologies*, and *Superstitions* of the *Heathens*, and hath a *Closet* richly furnished with things relating to those matters. *Fabretti* is justly celebrated for his Under-

standing

standing of the Old *Roman Architecture* and *Fabrick*; *Badze Fabri* is the chief Honour of the *Jesuits Colledge*, and is much above the common Rate both for *Philosophy*, *Mathematicks*, and *Church History*. And he to whom I was the most obliged, *Abbot Nazari*, hath so general a view of the several parts of *Learning*, tho he hath chiefly applied himself to *Philosophy* and *Mathematicks*, and is a man of so ingaging a Civility, and used me in so particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as those others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to see, all the acknowledgments of Esteem and gratitude that I can possibly make them.

One sees in *Cardinal d'Estré* all the advantages of a high birth, great Parts, a generous Civility, and a measure of knowledge far above what can be expected from a person of his rank; but as he gave a noble Protection to one of the *most learned Men* that this Age hath produced, *Mr. Lannoy*, who lived many years with him, so it is visible, that he made a great progress by the conversation of so extraordinary a person; and as for *Theological Learning*, there is now none of the *Colledge* equal to him. *Cardinal Howard* is too well known in *England* to need any *character* from me; The elevation of his present condition hath not in the least changed him; he hath all the sweetness and gentleness of temper that we saw in him in *England*, and he retains the unaffected Simplicity and Humility of a *Fryer*, amidst all the Dignity of the *Purple*, and as he

shew what the generous care and concern for his Country-men that they can expect from him; for I met with so much free, noble and obliging marks of his goodness for myself, that went far beyond a common civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told, the *Pope's Confessor* was a very extraordinary man for the *Oriental Learning*, which is but little known at *Rome*: He is a Master of the *Arabick Tongue* and hath writ, as *Abbot Renaudot* told me, the learnedst Book against the *Mahometan Religion*, that the World hath yet seen, but is not yet Printed. He is not so much esteemed in *Rome* as he would be elsewhere; for his Learning is not in vogue, and the *School Divinity* and *Casuistical Learning*, being that for which *Divines* are most esteemed there, he whose Studies had been another way, is not so much valued as he ought to be; and perhaps the small account that the *Pope* makes of *Learned Men*, turns him somewhat upon the *Confessor*, for I discover'd, that this is a *Reign* in which *Learning* is very little incouraged.

Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have, for the present *Pontificate*, one made a pleasant reflection to me the said of this *Pope*, that intended to raise their *Families*, as they saw the censure that this brought upon them, so they studied to lessen it by other things, that might soften the Spirits of the *people*. No man did more for beautifying *Rome*, than *Pope Paul* the V. about

the same time he did not forget his *Family*; and tho the other *Popes*, that have raised great *Families*, have not done this to so eminent a degree as he did, yet there are many remains of their Magnificence; whereas those *Popes* that have not raised *Families*, have it seems thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and so they have not done much, either to recommend their *Government* to their *Subjects*, or their *Reign* to *Posterity*; and it is very plain, that the *present Pope* taketh no great care of this. His life hath been certainly very innocent, and free of all those publick Scandals that make a noise in the World: and there is at present a regularity in *Rome*, that deserveth great commendation; for publick Vices are not to be seen there. His personal *Sobriety* is also singular. One assured me, that the Expence of his *Table* did not amount to a *Crown* a day; tho this is indeed short of *Sisto* V. who gave order to his *Steward*, never to exceed five and twenty *Bajokes*, that is, *eighteen pence* a day, for his *Diet*. The *Pope* is very careful of his Health; and doth never expose it, for upon the least disorder, he shuts himself up in his Chamber; and often keepeth his Bed for the least indisposition many days; but his *Government* is severe, and his *Subjects* are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the *Poverty of a Nation*, not only dispeoples it, by driving the *People* out of it, but by weak-

ning the natural fertility of the *Subject*; for as men and women well cloathed, and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual Labour, and with the tearing Anxieties that Want brings with it, must be much more lively, than those that are pressed with Want; so it is very likely, that the one must be much more disposed to propagate, than the other: and this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the *Fruitfulness* of *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, with the *Barrenness* that reigns over all *Italy*. I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious productions of *Geneva*; *Mr. Tronchin*, that was *Professor of Divinity*, and *Father* to the *Tronchins* and worthy *Professor* of the same name, that is now there, dyed at the age of seventy six *Years*, and had a hundred and fifteen *Persons* all alive, that had either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him, called him *Father*. And *Mr. Calandrin*, a pious and laborious *Preacher* of that *Town*, that is descended from the *Family* of the *Calandrins*, who receiving the *Reformation* about a hundred and fifty *years* ago, left *Lucca* their Native *City* with the *Turretins*, the *Diodati*, and the *Bourlamachi*; and some others that came and settled at *Geneva*: He is now but seven and fourty *years* old, and yet he hath a hundred and five *Persons* that are descended of his *Brothers* and *Sisters*, or married to them; so that if he liveth but to *Eighty*, and the *Family* multiplieth as it hath done, he may see some hundreds that will be in the same relation

tion to him, but such things as these are not to be found in *Italy*.

There is nothing that delights a stranger more in *Rome*, than to see the great *Fountains of Water*, that are almost in all the corners of it. That old *Aquaduct* which *Paul* the V. restored, cometh from a collection of *Sources*, five and thirty *Miles* distant from *Rome*, that runs all the way upon an *Aqueduct* in a *Cannel* that is vaulted, and is liker a *River* than a *Fountain*. It breaketh out in *five* several *Fountains*, of which some give water about a foot square. That of *Sixtus* the V. the great Fountain of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious quantity of *Water*. The glorious Fountain in the *Piazza Navona*, that hath an air of greatness in it that surprizeth one, the Fountain in the *Piazza de Spagna*, those before *S. Peters*, and the *Palazza Farnese*, with many others, furnish *Rome* so plentifully, that almost every private House hath a *Fountain* that runs continually. All these, I say, are noble Decorations, that carry an usefulness with them, that cannot be enough commended; and gives a much greater Idea of those who have taken care to supply this *City* with one of the chief Pleasures and Conveniences of Life, than of others, who have laid out millions meerly to bring quantities of *Water* to give the eye a little diversion, which would have been laid out much more nobly and usefully, and would have more effectually eternized their Fame, if they had been im-

imployed as the *Romans* did their Treasures, in furnishing great *Towns* with *Water*.

There is an universal *Civility* that reigns among all sorts of people at *Rome*, which in a great measure flows from their *Government*, for every man being capable of all the advancements of that *State*, since a simple *Ecclesiastick* may become one of the *Monsignori*, and one of these may be a *Cardinal*, and one of these may be chosen *Pope*, this makes every man behave himself towards all other persons with an Exactness of Respect; for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes Professions of Esteem and Kindness go so promiscously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The conversation of *Rome* is generally upon *News*, for tho there is no news Printed there, yet in the several *Antichambers* of the Cardinals (where if they make any considerable figure, there are *Assemblys* of those that make their Court to them) one is sure to hear all the *News* of *Europe*, together with many speculations upon what passeth. At the *Queen of Swedens*, all that relateth to *Germany*, or the *North* is ever to be found; and that *Princess*, that must ever reign among all that have a true tast either of Wit or Learning, hath still in her drawing Rooms the best *Court* of the *Strangers*; and her Civility, together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her conversation; maketh her to be the chief of all the living Rarities that one sees in *Rome*; I will not use her own words

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to my self, which was, *That the new grew to be one of the Antiquities of Rome.* The *Ambassadors* of *Crowns*, who live here in another form than in any other *Court*, and the *Cardinals* and *Prelates* of the several *Nations*, that do all meet and converse here, make, that there is more *news in Rome*, than any where: For *Priests*, and the men of *Religious Orders*, write larger and more particular *Letters*, than any other sort of men. But such as apply themselves to make their Court here, are condemned to a loss of time, that had need be well recompenced, for it is very great. As for one that Studies *Antiquities*, *Pictures*, *Statues*, or *Musick*, there is more entertainment for him at *Rome*, than in all the rest of *Europe*; but if he hath not a taste of these things, he will soon be weary of a place where the Conversation is always general, and where there is little Sincerity or Openness practised, and by consequence, where friendship is little understood. The *Women* here begin to be a little more conversable, tho a *Nation* naturally jealous, will hardly allow a great liberty in a *City* that is composed of *Ecclesiasticks*, who being denyed the privilege of *Wives* of their own, are suspected of being sometimes too bold with the *Wives* of others: The Lobsters that were taken in the *Constable of Naples's Palace*, had indeed disgusted the *Romans* much at that Freedom, which had no bounds. But the *Dutchess of Bracciano*, that is a *French Woman*, hath by the exactness of her deportment, amidst all the innocent Freedoms

of

of a Noble Conversation, recovereth in a great measure the Credit of those Liberties, that *Italy* beyond the Mountains practise, with all the strictness of Vertue; For she receiveth visits at publick hours, and in publick Rooms; and by the liveliness of her Conversation, maketh that her Court is the pleasantest Assembly of Strangers, that is to be found in any of the *Palaces* of the *Italians* at *Rome*.

I will not ingage in a description of *Rome*, either ancient or modern, this hath been done so oft, and with such exactness, that nothing can be added to what hath been already published. It is certain, that when one is in the *Capitol*, and sees those poor Rests of what once it was, he is surprized to see a building of so great a frame sunk so low, that one can scarce imagine that it was once a *Castle*, scituated upon a Hill, able to hold out against a Siege of the *Gauls*. The *Tarpeian Rock* is now of so small a fall, that a man would think it no great matter for his diversion, to leap over it: and the shape of the ground hath not been so much altered on one side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other. For *Severus's Triumphal Arch*, which is at the foot of the Hill on the other side, is not now buried above two foot within the ground, as the vast *Amphitheater of Titus* is not above three foot sunk under the level of the ground. Within the *Capitol* one sees many Noble remnants of *Antiquity*, but none is more glorious, as well as more useful, than

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the *Tables of their Consuls*, which are upon the *Walls*: and the *Inscription* on the *Columna Rostrata* in the time of the first *Punick War*, is without doubt the most valuable *Antiquity* in *Rome*. From this all along the sacred way, one findeth such remnants of *Old Rome* in the Ruins of the *Temples*, in the *Triumphal Arches*, in the *Portico's*, and other Remains of that Glorious Body, that as one cannot see these too often, so every time one sees them, they kindle in him vast idea's of that *Republick*, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his youth with great pleasure. From the height of the *Convent of Araceli*, a man hath a full view of all the extent of *Rome*, but literally it is now *seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the parts of the *City*, that were most inhabited anciently, are those that are now laid in great *Gardens*, or, as they call them, *Vineyards*, of which some are half a mile in compass. The vastness of the *Roman* Magnificence and Luxury, is that which passeth imagination; the prodigious *Amphitheater of Titus*, that could conveniently receive eighty five thousand spectators; the great extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the *vaults* where the *Waters* were reserved that furnished *Titus's Baths*; and above all, *Diocletian's Baths*, tho built when the *Empire* was in its decay, are so far above all *Modern* Buildings, that there is not so much as room for a comparison. The extent of those *Baths* is above half a mile in compass: the vastness of the *Rooms* in which the *Bathers* might swim, of which the *Carthusians Church*, that yet remains intire,

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is one, and the many great *Pillars* all of one *Stone* of *Marble*, beautifully spotted, are things of which these latter Ages are not capable. The beauty of their *Temples*, and of the *Portico's* before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotunda*, where the *Fabrick* without, looketh as mean, being only *Brick*, as the *Architecture* is bold; for it riseth up in a *Vault*, and yet at the top there is an open left, of thirty foot in Diameter, which, as it is the only *Window* of the *Church*, so it filleth it with light, and is the hardiest piece of *Architecture* that ever was made. The *Pillars* of the *Portico* are also the noblest in *Rome*, they are the highest and biggest that one can see any where all of *one Stone*: and the numbers of those ancient *Pillars*, with which, not only many of the *Churches* are beautified, chiefly *S. Mary Maggiore*, and *S. John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private houses are adorned, and of the Fragments of which there are such multitudes in all the *Streets* of *Rome*, giveth a great idea of the Expencefulness of the old *Romans* in their buildings; for the hewing and fetching a few of those *Pillars*, must have cost more than whole *Palaces* do now: since most of them were brought from *Greece*: Many of these *Pillars* are of *Porphiry*, others of *Jasp*, others of granated *Marble*, but the greatest number is of white *Marble*: The two *Columns*, *Trajans* and *Antonins*: the two *Horses* that are in the *Mount Cavallo*, and the other two *Horses* in the *Capitol*, which have not indeed the postures and motion of the other: The brass

Horse

Horse, that is believed carrieth *Marcus Aurelius*; the remains of *Nerva Colossus*, the *Temple of Bacchus* near the *Catacomb* of *S. Agnes*, which is the intirest and the least altered of all the ancient *Temples*: The great *Temple of Peace*; those of the *Sun* and *Moon*; that of *Romulus* and *Remus*, (which I considered as the ancientest *Fabrick* that is now left; for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a place, that when *Rome* grew so costly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was reverenced for its *Antiquity*) the many other *Portico's*, the *Arches* of *Severus*, of *Titus*, and *Constantine*, in the last of which one sees that the *Sculpture* of his *Age*, was much sunk from what it had been, only in the top there are some *Bas Reliefs*, that are clearly of a much ancienter time, and of a better manner. And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great *Aqueducts* that come from all hands, and run over a vast distance, are things which a man cannot see oft enough, if he would form in himself a just idea of the vastness of that *Republick*, or rather *Empire*: There are many *Statues* and *Pillars*, and other *Antiquities* of great value, dug up in all the quarters of *Rome*, these last hundred and fourscore *years*, since *Pope Leo* the tenth's time; who as he was the greatest Patron of *Learning* and *Arts*, that perhaps ever was, so was the generousest *Prince* that ever reigned; and it was *he* that first set on foot the inquiring into the Riches of *Old Rome*, that lay, till his time, for the most part, hid under ground; and indeed if *he* had been less scandalous in his *Impiety* and *A-*

theism, of which neither he nor his Court have so much as ashamed; he had been one of the most celebrated persons of any Age. Soon after hath *Pope Paul* the III. gave the ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his *Family*. But I was told, that this large piece of ground, in which one should look for the greatest collection of the *Antiquities* of the highest value, since this is the Ruin of the *Palace* of the *Roman Emperors*, hath never been yet searched into with any exactness: So that when a curious *Prince* cometh, that is willing to imploy many hands in digging up and down this *Hill*, we may expect new Suites of *Roman Antiquities*. But all this matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only named these things, because I can add nothing to those copious Descriptions that have been so oft made of them. Nor will I say any thing of the *modern Palaces*, or the Ornaments of them, either in *Pictures* or *Statues*; which are things that carry one so far, that it is not easie to give bounds to the Descriptions into which one findeth himself carried, when he once enters upon so fruitful a Subject. The number of the *Palaces* is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a *Travellet*, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts: It is true, the *Palestrina*, the *Borghese*, and the *Farnese* have somewhat in them that leave an impression which no new *Objects* can wear out; and as the last hath a noble *Square* before it, with two great *Fountains* in it; so the *Statue of Hercules* and the *Bull*, that are below, and the *Gallery* above stairs, are unvaluable

buable, the *Roof* of the *Gallery* is one of the best pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of *Gutrachio*'s hand, and there are in that *Gallery* the greatest number of *heads* of the *Greek Philosophers* and *Poets* that I ever saw together: That of *Homer* and that of *Socrates* were the two that struck me most, chiefly the latter, which as it is, without dispute, a true *Antick*, so it carrieth in it all the Characters that *Plato* and *Xenophon* give us of *Socrates*; the flat *Nose*, the broad *Face*, the simplicity of *Look*, and the mean *Appearance* which that great *Philosopher* made, so that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more than with all the Wonders of the *Bull*, which is indeed a *Rock of Marble*, cut out into a whole *Scene of Statues*; but as the *History* of it is not well known, so there are such faults in the *Sculpture*, that tho it is all extream fine, yet one seeth it hath not the exactness of the best times. As for the *Churches* & *Convents of Rome*, as the number, the Vastness, the Riches both of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting and other Ornaments amaze one, so here again a Stranger is lost, and the *Convent* that one seeth last, is alwayes the most admired: I confess, the *Minerva*, which is the *Dominicans*, where the *Inquisition* sitteth, is that which maketh the most sensible impression upon one that passeth at *Rome* for an *Heretick*, tho except one committeth great follies, he is in no danger there; and the Poverty that reigns in that *City* maketh them find their interest so much in using *Strangers* well,

whatsoever their *Religion* may be; that no man needs be afraid there. And I have more than ordinary reason to acknowledg this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken to write my thoughts freely both of the *Church* and *See* of *Rome*, and was known by all with whom I conversed there, yet met with the highest Civilities possible among all sorts of people, and in particular both among the *English* and *Scottish Jesuits*, tho they knew well enough that I was no friend to their *Order*.

In the *Gallery* of the *English Jesuits* among the *Pictures* of their *Martyrs*, I did not meet with *Garnet*; for perhaps that name is so well known, that they would not expose a *Picture*, with such a name on it, to all strangers; yet *Oldcorn*, being a name less known, is hung there among their *Martyrs*, tho he was as clearly convicted of the *Gunpowder Treason*, as the other was: and it seemed a little strange to me to see that at a time, in which, for other Reasons the *Writers* of that *Communion* have not thought fit, to deny the truth of that *Conspiracy*, a *Jesuit* convicted of the blackest crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among their *Martyrs*. I saw likewise there the Original of those *Emblematical Prophecies*, relating to *England*, that the *Jesuits* have had at *Rome* near sixty *years*, and of which I had some time ago procured a *Copy*, so I found my Copy was true. I hapned to be at *Rome* during St. *Gregory's Fair* and *Feast*, which lasted

lasted several dayes. In his *Church* the *Host* was exposed; and from that, all that came thither, went to the *Chappel*, that was once his House, in which his *Statue* and the *Table*, where he served the poor, are preserved. I saw such vast numbers of people there, that one would have thought all *Rome* was got together. They all kneeled down to his *Statue*, and after a prayer said to it, they kissed his foot, and every one touched the *Table* with his *Beads*, as hoping to draw some vertue from it. I will add nothing of the several *Obelisks* and *Pillars* that are in *Rome*, of the celebrated *Chappels* that are in some of the great *Churches*, in particular those of *Sixtus* the V. and *Paul* the V. in *Santa Maria Maggiore*, of the *Water-works* in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the *Vineyards*. Nor will I go out of *Rome* to describe *Frescati*, (for *Tivoly* I did not see) The young *Prince Borgheſe*, who is indeed one of the Glories of *Rome*, as well for his learning as for his vertue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with those two learned *Abbots*, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a magnificence that became him better to give than me to receive. The *Water-works* in the *Aldobrandin Palace* have a Magnificence in them beyond all that I ever saw in *France*, the mixture of *Wind* with the *Water*, and the *Thunders* and *Storms* that this maketh is noble. The *Water-works* of the *Ludoviſio*, and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewise a great-

greatness in them that is natural; and indeed, the *Riches* that one meets with in all places within doors in *Italy*, and the *Poverty* that one seeth every where abroad, are the most unsuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely, that a great part of their movable Wealth will be ere long carried into *France*; for as soon as any *Picture* or *Statue* of great value is offered to be sold, those that are imployed by the *King of France*, do presently buy it up, so that as that *King* hath already, the greatest collection of *Pictures* that is in *Europe*, he will very probably in a few years more, bring together the chief *Treasures* of *Italy*.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared most remarkable to me in *Rome*. I shall to this add a very extraordinary piece of *Natural History* that fell out there within these *two years*, which I had first from those two learned Abbots, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by *Cardinal Howard*, who was one of the *Congregation* of *Cardinals* that examined and judged the matter. There were *two Nuns* near *Rome*, one as I remember was in the *City*, and the other not far from it, who, after they had been for some years in a *Nunnery*, perceived a very strange change in Nature, and that their *Sex* was altered, which grew by some degrees to a total alteration in one; and tho the other was not so entire a change, yet it was visible she was more *Man* than *Woman*; upon this the matter was looked into: That which naturally offereth

ceth it self here, is, *that these two had been always what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a disguise, to gratifie a brutal Appetite.* But to this, when I proposed it, answer was made, that as the *Breasts* of a *Woman*, that remained still, did in a great measure shake off that Objection, so the proofs were given so fully, of their having been real *Females*, that there was no doubt left of that, nor had they given any sort of Scandal in the change of their Sex. And if there had been any room left to suspect a Cheat or Disguise, the proceedings would have been both more severe and more secret; and these persons would have been Burnt, or at least put to Death in some terrible manner. Some *Physicians* and *Chirurgions* were appointed to examin the matter, and at last, after a long and exact inquiry, they were judged to be absolved from their *vows*, and were dismissed from the Obligation of a *Religious* Life, and required to go in *mens habit*. One of them was a *Valet de Chambre* to a *Roman Marquess*, when I was there; I heard of this matter only two dayes before I left *Rome*, so that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly; but I judged it so extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to so curious an *Inquirer into Nature*.

And since I am upon the subject of the Changes that have been made in *Nature*, I shall add one of another sort, that I examined

while I was at *Geneva*: There is a *Minister* of S. *Gervais*, Mr. *Cody*, who hath a *Daughter*, that is now *sixteen Years* old. Her *Nurse* had an extraordinary thickness of hearing, at a year old, the *Child* spoke all those little words, that Children begin usually to learn at that age, but she made no progress; yet this was not observed, till it was too late; and as she grew to be two years old, they perceived then that she had lost her hearing, and was so deaf that ever since, tho she hears great noises, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems, while the milk of her *Nurse*, was more abundant, and that the *Child* suckt more moderately the first year, those humors in the Blood and Milk had not that effect on her, that appeared after she came to suck more violently: and that her *Nurse's* Milk being in less quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that vapour that occasioned the deafness. But this *Child* hath by observing the *Motions* of the *Mouth* and *Lips* of others, acquired so many *Words*, that out of these she hath formed a sort of *Jargon*, in which she can hold conversation whole days with those that can speak her own *language*. I could understand some of her words, but could not comprehend a period; for it seemed to be a confused noise: She knows nothing that is said to her, unless she seeth the *Motion* of their *Mouths* that speak to her; so that in the *Night*, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a candle: Only one thing appeared the strangest part of the whole narra-

narration. She had a *Sister*, with whom she has practised her language more than with any other; and in the *Night*, by laying her *Hand* on her *Sister's Mouth*, she can perceive by that, what she says, and so can discourse with her in the night. It is true, her *Mother* told me, that this did not go far, and that she found out only some short period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long: thus this young *Woman*, without any pains taken on her, hath meerly by a natural sagacity, found out a method of holding discourse, that doth in a great measure lessen the *Misery* of her Deafness. I examined this matter critically, but only the *Sister* was not present, so that I could not see how the conversation past between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning *Rome*, I cannot hinder my self, from giving you an account of a conversation that I had with one of the most Celebrated persons that lives in it; I was talking concerning the credit that the *Order* of the *Jesuites* had every where; It was said, that *all the World mistrusted them*, and yet by a strange sort of Contradiction *all the World trusted them*; and tho it was well known that every *Jesuite* was truer to the *Interests* of his *Order* than he could be to the *Interests* of any *Prince* whatsoever, yet those Princes that would be very careful, not to suffer *Spys* to come into their *Courts*, or into their *Councels*, suffered those Spys to come into their *Breasts* and *Consciences*: and

and tho *Princes* were not generally very tender in those parts, yet as they had oft as much *Guilt*, so they had sometimes as much *Fear* as other people, which a dextrous *Spy* knew well how to manage. Upon which, that *Person*, that pretended to be a *zealous Catholick*, added, that for their part, they considered only the *Character* that the *Church* gave to a *Priest*; and if the *Church* qualified him to do the functions of a *Priest*, they thought it very needless to enquire after other personal Qualities, which were but common things, whereas the other was all divine. On the Contrary, they thought it was so much the better to have to do with a poor *Ignorant Priest*; for then they had to do only with the *Church*, and not with the *Man*. Pursuant to this, that persons *Confessor* was the greatest, and the most notorious Blockhead that could be found; and when they were asked, *why they made use of so weak a man?* they answered, *because they could not find a weaker*: and when ever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a *Groom*, or a *Footman* that got into *Priests Orders*, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask counsel of a Friend, but they knew no other use of a *Confessor*, but to confess to him, and to receive *Absolution* from him: and in so doing, they pretended they acted as became a *true Catholick*, that considered only the Power of the *Church* in the *Priest*, without regarding any thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the short Ramble that I made, which was too short to deserve

deſerve the name of *Travelling*, and therefore the *Inquiries* or *Obſervations* that I could make, muſt be received with the Abatement that ought to be made for ſo ſhort a ſtay; and all will be of a piece, when the *Remarks* are as ſlight, as the *Abode* I made in the places through which I paſt was ſhort. As I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known, ſo if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters, yet I have told you nothing but what I ſaw and knew to be true, or that I had from ſuch hands, that I have very good reaſon to believe it: and I fancy, that the things which made the greateſt impreſſion on my ſelf, will be acceptably received by you, to whom, as upon many accounts, I owe all the expreſſions of Eſteem and Gratitude that I can ever pay, ſo I had a more particular reaſon, that determined me to give you ſo full an account of all I ſaw and obſerved; for as you were pleaſed at parting to do me the Honour, to deſire me to communicate to you ſuch things as appeared moſt remarkable to me, ſo I found ſuch a vaſt advantage in many places, but more particularly at *Venice*, *Rome* and *Naples*, by the Happineſs I have of being known to you, and of being ſo far conſidered by you, that I could give a copious account both of your *Perſon* and *Studies*, to thoſe in whom your curious *Diſcoveries* had kindled that eſteem for you, which all the World payeth both to you and to your immortal *Inquiries* into *Nature*, which are among the peculiar Bleſſings of this *Age*; and that are

read

read with no leſs care and pleaſure in *Italy* than in *England*. This was ſo well received, that I found the great advantage of this Honour I did my ſelf in aſſuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends; and I owe a great part of that diſtinction which I met with, to this favourable *Character* that I gave my ſelf; ſo that if I made any progreſs in the Inquiries that ſo ſhort a ſtay could inable one to make, I owe it in ſo peculiar a manner to you, that this Return that I make, is but a very ſmall part of that I owe you, and which I will be indeavouring to pay you to the laſt moment of my life.

THE FIFTH LETTER.

From Nimmegen, the 20th of May, 1686.

SIR,

I Thought I had made so full a *Point* at the conclusion of my last *Letter*, that I should not have given you the trouble of reading any more *Letters* of the volume of the former: But new Scenes, and new matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I ingage you again to two or three Hours reading.

From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marseilles*, where if there were a *Road* as Safe, as the *Harbour* is Covered; and if the *Harbour* were as Large, as it is Convenient, it were certainly one of the most important places in the World: all is so well defended, that it is with respect either to Storms or Enemies, the secureſt *Port* that can be seen any where. The Freedoms of this place, tho it is now at the mercy of the *Cittadel*, are such, and its Scituation draweth so much *Trade* to it, that there one seeth ano-

another appearance of *Wealth*, than I found in any *Town* of *France*; and there is a new *Street* lately built there, that for the Beauty of the Buildings, and the Largeness of the Street, is the Noblest I ever saw. There is in that *River* a perpetual heat, and the *Sun* was so strong in the *Christmas week*, that I was often driven off the *Key*. I made a *Tour* from thence through *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*. I will offer you no account of *Nismes*, nor of the *Amphitheatre* in it, or the *Pont du Gar* near it; which as they are stupendious things, so they are so copiously described by many, and are so generally known to the *English Nation*, that if you have never gone that way your self, yet you must needs have received so particular a relation of them, from those that have seen them on their way to *Montpelier*, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them: Nor will I say any thing of the *Soil*, the *Towns*, or any other remarkable things that I found there.

I have a much stronger inclination to say somewhat, concerning *the Persecution* which I saw in its *Rage* and utmost *Fury*, and of which I could give you many *Instances*, that are so much beyond all the common measures of *Barbarity* and *Cruelty*, that I confess they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive proofs of them, than are fitting now to be brought forth: and the *particulars* that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them with the necessary Circumstances of

Time,

Time, *Place*, and *Persons*, those might be so fatal to many that are yet in the power of their Enemies, that my regard to them restrains me. In short, I do not think that in *any Age* there ever was such a *Violation* of all that is *Sacred*, either with relation to *God* or *Man*: And what I *saw* and *knew* there, from the first hand, hath so confirmed all the *Ideas* that I had taken from *Books*, of the *Cruelty* of that *Religion*, that I hope the impression that this hath made upon me, shall never end but with my Life. The *Applauses* that the *whole Clergy* give to this way of proceeding, the many *Panegyricks* that are already writ upon it, of which, besides the more pompous ones that appear at *Paris*, there are numbers writ by smaller *Authors* in every Town of any note there; and the *Sermons* that are all flights of flattery upon this subject, are such evident Demonstrations of their sense of this matter, that what is now on foot may be well termed, *the Act of the whole Clergy of France*, which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate part of the *Roman Communion*. If any are more moderate than others, and have not so far laid off the humane nature, as to go in entirely into those bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in secret, as if it were half Treason: but for the greater part, they do not only magnifie all that is done, but they animate even the *Dragoons* to higher degrees of *Rage*: and there was such a *Heat* spread over all the *Country*,

on

on this occaſion, that one could not go into any *Ordinary*, or mix in any promiſcuous converſation, without finding ſuch effects of it, that it was not eaſie for ſuch as were toucht with the leaſt degree of Compaſſion for the *Miſeries* that the poor *Proteſtants* ſuffered, to be a witneſs to the *Inſultings* that they muſt meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagin, that this hath not been approved in *Italy*, and it is true, there were not any publick *Rejoycings* upon it at *Rome*; no *Indulgences* nor *Te Deums* were heard of: And the *Spaniſh Faction* being ſo prevalent there, it is not ſtrange if a courſe of proceedings, that is without an example, was ſet forth, by all that were of *that Intereſt*, in its proper colours; of which I met with ſome inſtances my ſelf, and could not but ſmile, to ſee ſome of the *Spaniſh Faction* ſo far to forget their *Courts of Inquiſition*, as to argue againſt the *Converſions* by the *Dragoons*, as a reproach to the *Catholick Religion*. Yet the *Pope* was of another mind; for the *Duke d'Eſtrées* gave him an account of the *Kings Proceedings* in this matter very copiouſly; as he himſelf related it. Upon which the *Pope* approved all, and expreſſed a *great Satisfaction* in every thing that the King had done in that matter; and the *Pope* added, that he found ſome *Cardinals* (as I remember the *Duke d'Eſtrées* ſaid two) were not pleaſed with it, and had taken the liberty to cenſure it; but the *Pope* ſaid, *they were too blame*: The *Duke d'Eſtrées* did not name the two *Cardinals*

dinals, tho he ſaid, he believed he knew who they were; and it is very like that *Cardinal Pio* was one; for I was told, that he ſpoke freely enough of this matter. I muſt take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not ſee that the *French King* is to be ſo much blamed in this matter as his *Religion* is, which, without queſtion, obligeth him to extirpate *Heretick*s, and not to keep his *Faith* to them: ſo that inſtead of cenſuring him, I muſt only lament his being bred up in a *Religion* that doth certainly oblige him to *diveſt* himſelf of *Humanity*, and to *violate his Faith*, whenſoever the cauſe of his *Church* and *Religion* requireth it: Or if there is any thing in this *conduct*, that cannot be entirely juſtified from the *Principles of that Religion*, it is this, that *he doth not put the Heretick*s *to Death out of hand, but that he forceth them, by all the Extremities poſſible, to ſign an Abjuration, that all the World muſt needs ſee, is done againſt their Conſcences*: And this being the only End of their Miſeries; thoſe that would think any ſort of *Death* a happy concluſion of their ſufferings, ſeeing no proſpect of ſuch a glorious iſſue out of their Trouble, are prevailed on by the many *lingring Death*s, of which they ſee no end, to make Shipwrack of the *Faith*: This appearance of Mercy, in not putting men to Death, doth truly verifie the *Character* that *Solomon* giveth of the tender Mercies of the wicked, *that they are cruel.*

But I will ſtop here, tho it is not eaſy to retire from ſo copious a ſubject, that as it affordeth ſo much matter, ſo upon many accounts, raiſeth a heat of thought, that is not eaſily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth leſs paſſion.

I paſt the Winter at *Geneva*, with more ſatisfaction than I had thought it was poſſible for me to have found any where out of *England*: tho that received great allayes from the moſt lamentable *Stories* that we had every day from *France*: But *there is a Sorrow by which the Heart is made better*. I ought to make the moſt publick aknowledgments poſſible for the Extraordinary Civilities that I met with in my own particular: but that is too low a Subject to entertain you with it. That which pleaſed me moſt, was of a more publick nature; before I left *Geneva*, the number of the *English* there was ſuch, that I found we could make a ſmall *Congregation*; for we were twelve or fourteen; ſo I addreſſed my ſelf to the *Council* of 25. for Liberty to have our own *Worship* in our own Language, according to the *English Liturgy*. This was immediately granted in ſo obliging a manner, that as there was not one perſon that made any Exception to it, ſo they ſent one of their Body to me, to let me know, that in caſe our number ſhould grow to be ſo great, that it were fit for us to aſſemble in a *Church*, they would grant us one which had been done in Queen *Maries Reign*: but till then, we might hold our *Aſſemblys* as we thought

thought fit. So after that time, during the reſt of my ſtay there, we had every *Sunday* our *Devotions* according to the *Common Prayer* Morning and Evening: and at the Evening Prayer, I *preacht* in a *Room* that was indeed too large for our ſmall Company; but there being a conſiderable number in *Geneva* that Underſtand *English*, and in particular ſome of the *Profeſſors* and *Miniſters*; we had a great many *Strangers* that met with us: and the laſt *Sunday* I gave the *Sacrament* according to the way of the *Church of England*; and upon this occaſion, I found a general joy in the *Town*, for this, that I had given them an Opportunity of expreſſing the reſpect they had for our *Church*; and as in their publick Prayers they alwayes prayed for the *Churches of Great Brittain*, as well as for the *King*, ſo in private Diſcourſe they ſhewed all poſſible eſteem for our *Conſtitutions*; and they ſpoke of the unhappy *Diviſions* among us, and of the *Separation* that was made from us, upon the account of our *Government* and *Ceremonies*, with great regret and dislike. I ſhall name to you only two of their *Profeſſours*, that as they are Men of great Diſtinction, ſo they were the perſons with whom I converſed the moſt. The one is *Mr. Turretin*, a Man of great Learning, that by his Indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out, and waſted his ſtrength; amidſt all the affluence

of a great plenty of Fortune to which he was born, one diſcerns in him all the Modeſty of a humble and mortified temper, and of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his Abundance, or rather beyond it: And there is in him ſuch a melting Zeal for *Religion*, as the preſent conjuncture calls for, with all the ſeriouſneſs of Piety and Devotion, which ſhews it ſelf both in private converſation and in his moſt edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the Conſciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. *Tronchin*, a Man of a ſtrong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment; who has all his thoughts well digeſted; his Converſation has an engaging charm in it that cannot be reſiſted: He is a Man of Extraordinary vertue, and of a Readineſs to oblige and ſerve all perſons, that has ſcarce any meaſures: His *Sermons* have a ſublimity in them, that ſtrikes the Hearer, as well as it edifyes him: His Thoughts are noble, and his Eloquence is Maſculine and exact, and has all the Majeſty of the Chair in it, tempered with all the Softneſs of Perſuaſion, ſo that he not only convinces his Hearers, but ſubdues them, and triumphs over them. In ſuch *Company* it was no wonder, if time ſeemed to go off too faſt, ſo that I left *Geneva* with a concern, that I could not have felt in leaving any place, out of the *Iſle of Britain*.

From *Geneva*, I went a ſecond time through *Swit-*

Switzerland to *Basil*: at *Avanche* I saw the Noble Fragments of a great *Roman Work*, which seems to have been the *Portico* to some *Temple*: the Heads of the *Pillars* are about four Foot square, of the *Jonick* Order; the *Temple* hath been dedicated to *Neptune*, or some Sea-god; for on the Fragments of the *Architrave*, which are very beautiful, there are *Dolphins* and *Sea-horses* in *Bas Reliefs*; and the Neighbourhood of the place to the *Lakes* of *Iverdun* and *Morat* maketh this more evident: there is also a *Pillar* standing up in its full height, or rather the Corner of a Building, in which one seeth the Rests of a regular *Architecture* in two ranks of *Pillars*: If the ground near this were carefully searcht, no doubt it would discover more Rests of that Fabrick. Not far from this is *Morat*; and a little on this side of it is a *Chappel*, full of the Bones of the *Burgundians*, that were killed by the *Switzers*, when this place was besieged by the famous *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, who lost a great *Army* before it, that was entirely cut off by the besieged; the *Inscription* is very extraordinary, especially for that Age: for the bones being so piled up, that the *Chappel* is quite filled with them, the Inscription bears, that *Charles Duke of Burgundy's Army* having besieged *Morat*, *Hoc sui Monumentum reliquit*, *had left that Monument behind it.* It cannot but seem strange to one that views *Morat*, to imagin how it was possible for a Town so scituated, and so

ſlightly fortifyed, to hold out againſt ſo powerful a *Prince*, and ſo great an *Army*, that brought *Canon* before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Baſil*, except that I ſtaid ſometime at *Bern*, and knew it better; and at this ſecond time it was, that My *Lord Advoyer d'Erlach* gave Order to ſhew me the *Original Records* of the famous *Proceſs* of the *four Dominicans*; upon which I have retoucht the *Letter* that I writ to you laſt year, ſo that I now ſend it to you with the Corrections and Inlargements, that this ſecond ſtay at *Bern* gave me occaſion to make.

Baſil is the Town of the greateſt extent of all *Switzerland*, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The *Rhine* maketh a Crook before it; and the *Town* is ſcituated on a riſing ground, which hath a noble effect on the Eye, when one is on the *Bridge*; for it looketh like a *Theater*. Little *Baſil* on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, is almoſt a fourth part of the whole: the *Town* is ſurrounded with a Wall and Ditch; but it is ſo expoſed on ſo many ſides, and hath now ſo dreadful a *Neighbour* within a quarter of a League of it, the *Fort of Hunningen*, that it hath nothing to truſt to, humanely ſpeaking, but its *Union* with the other *Cantons*. The Maxims of this *Canton* have hindred its being better peopled than it is; the Advantages of the *Burgerſhip* are ſuch, that the *Citizens* will not ſhare them with *Strangers*, and by this

this means they do not admit them. For I was told, that during the laſt War, that *Alſatia* was ſo often the Seat of both *Armys*, *Baſil* having then a Neutrality, it might have been well filled, if it had not been for this Maxim. And it were a great Happineſs to all the *Cantons*, if they could have different *Degrees of Burgerſhip*, ſo that the *lower Degrees* might be given to *Strangers* for their Incouragement to come and live among them: and the *higher Degrees*, which quality Men for the advantagious Imployments of the *State*, might be reſerved for the *Ancient Families* of the *Natives*. *Baſil* is divided into *ſixteen Companies*, and every one of theſe hath *four Members* in the *little Council*, ſo that it conſiſteth of *ſixty four*: But of thoſe four, *two* are choſen by the *Company* it ſelf, who are called the *Maſters*, and the other two are choſen by the *Council* out of the *Company*; and thus as there are *two* ſorts of *Councellors*, choſen in thoſe different manners, there are alſo *two* chief *Magiſtrates*. There are *two Burgermaſters*, that Reign by turns, and two *Zunft-Maſters*, that have alſo their turns, and all is for life; and the laſt are the *Heads* of the *Companies*, like the *Romans Tribunes* of the *People*. The Fabrick of the *State-Houſe* is ancient; there is very good *painting* in *freſco* upon the Walls; one piece hath given much offence to the *Papiſts*, tho they have no Reaſon to blame the *Reformation* for it, ſince it

was done ſeveral *years* before it, in the *year* 1510. It is a Repreſentation of the *Day of Judgement*, and after Sentence given, the *Devil* is repreſented driving many before him to *Hell*, and among theſe there is a *Pope*, and ſeveral *Eccleſiaſticks*. But it is believed, that the *Council*, which ſate ſo long in this place, acting ſo vigorouſly againſt the *Pope*, ingaged the Town into ſuch a hatred of the *Papacy*, that this might give the riſe to this Repreſentation. The more learned in the *Town* aſcribe the beginning of the Cuſtom in *Baſil* of the *Clocks* anticipating the time a full Hour, to the ſitting of the *Council*, and they ſay, that in order to the Advancing of buſineſs, and the ſhortning their *Seſſions*, they ordered their *Clocks* to be ſet forward an Hour, which continueth to this day. The *Cathedral* is a great old *Gothick* Building; the *Chamber* where the *Council* ſate, is of no great reception, and is a very ordinary Room: *Eraſmus's Tomb* is only a plain *Inſcription* upon a great *Braſs* Plate; There are many of *Holbens's Pictures* here, who was a native of *Baſil*, and was recommended by *Eraſmus* to *King Henry* the VIII. the two beſt are a *Corpo* or *Chriſt Dead*, which is certainly one of the beſt *Pictures* in the World: There is another *Piece* of his in the *Stadt-Houſe* (for this is in the *publick Library*) of about three or four foot ſquare, in which, in ſix ſeveral *Cantons*, the ſeveral parts of our *Saviours*

Paſſion

Paſſion are repreſented with a life and beauty that cannot be enough admired; it is valued at *ten thouſand Crowns*; it is on *Wood*, but hath that Freſhneſs of colour ſtill on it, that ſeems particuliar to *Holbens's Pencil*. There is alſo a *Dance*, that he painted on the *Walls* of an *Houſe* where he uſed to drink, that is ſo worn out, that very little is now to be ſeen, except ſhapes and Poſtures: but theſe ſhew the exquiſiteneſs of the Hand. There is another longer *Dance*, that runneth all along the ſide of the *Convent* of the *Auguſtinians*, which is now the *French Church*, which is *Deaths Dance*; there are above threeſcore *Figures* in it at full length; of *Perſons* of all ranks, from *Popes*, *Emperors* and *Kings*, down to the meaneſt ſorts of *People*, and of all Ages and Profeſſions, to whom *Death* appeareth in an inſolent and ſurprizing poſture; and the ſeveral Paſſions that they expreſs, are ſo well ſet out, that this was certainly a great deſign. But the *Freſco* being expoſed to the *Air*, this was ſo worn out ſome time ago, that they ordered the beſt *Painter* they had to lay new Colours on it; but this is ſo ill done, that one had rather ſee the dead ſhadows of *Holbens's Pencil*, than this courſe work. There is in *Baſil* a *Gun-Smith*, that maketh *Wind-Guns*, and he ſhewed me one, that as it received at once *Air* for *ten ſhot*, ſo it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own Invention, that he can *Diſcharge* all the *Air* that can be parcelled out in ten ſhot *at once*, to give a home blow

blow. I confeſs thoſe are terrible Inſtruments, and it ſeems the intereſt of mankind to forbid them quite, ſince they can be imployed to Aſſaſſinate Perſons ſo dextrouſly, that neither Noiſe nor Fire will diſcover from what hand the Shot cometh. The *Library* of *Baſil* is by much the beſt in all *Switzerland*, there is a fine collection of *Meddals* in it, and a very handſome *Library of Manuſcripts*; the Room is Noble, and diſpoſed in a very good Method. Their *Manuſcripts* are chiefly, the *Latin Fathers*, or Latin *Tranſlations* of the *Greek Fathers*, ſome good *Bibles*; they have the *Goſpel* in *Greek Capitals*, but they are vitiouſly writ in many places: there is an infinite number of the *Writers* of the darker Ages, and there are *Legends* and *Sermons* without number. All the Books that were in the ſeveral *Monaſteries*, at the time of the *Reformation*, were carefully preſerved; and they believe, that the *Biſhops* who ſate here in the *Council*, brought with them a great many *Manuſcripts* which they never carried away. Among their *Manuſcripts*, I ſaw four of *Huſs's Letters*, that he writ to the *Bohemians* the day before his death, which are very devout, but exceſſively ſimple. The *Manuſcripts* of this *Library* are far more numerous than thoſe of *Bern*, which were gathered by *Bongarſius*, and left by him to the publick *Library* there: they are indeed very little conſidered there, and are the worſt kept that ever I ſaw: But it is a Noble *Collection* of all the ancient *Latin Authors*

thors; they have ſome few of the beſt of the *Roman* times, writ in great *Characters*, and there are many that are ſeven or eight hundred *Years* old. There is in *Baſil* one of the beſt collections of *Meddals* that ever I ſaw in private hands; together with a Noble *Library*, in which there are *Manuſcripts* of good antiquity, that belongs to the *Family of Feſch*, and that goeth from one learned man of the Family to another; for this *Inheritance* can only paſs to a man of Learning, and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go to the *publick*. In *Baſil*, as the ſeveral *Companies* have been more or leſs ſtrict, in admitting ſome to a *Freedom* in the *Company*, that have not been of the *Trade*, ſo they retain their *Priviledges* to this day. For in ſuch *Companies*, that have once received ſuch a number that have not been of the *Trade*, as grew to be the majority, the *Trade* hath never been able to recover their *Intereſt*. But ſome *Companies* have been more cautions, and have never admitted any but thoſe that were of the *Trade*, ſo that they retain their *Intereſt* ſtill in *Government*. Of theſe the *Butchers* were named for one, ſo that there are alwayes four *Butchers* in the *Council*: The great *Council* conſiſteth of *two hundred and forty*, but they have no power left them, and they are only aſſembled upon ſome extraordinary occaſions, when the *little Council* thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but ſix *Bailiages* that belong to *Baſil*, which

are

are not imployments of great advantage; for the beſt of them doth afford to the *Bailif* only a thouſand Livres a *Year*: They reckon that there are in *Baſil* three thouſand *Men* that can bear *Arms*, and that they could raiſe four thouſand more out of the *Canton*, ſo that the *Town* is almoſt the half of this *State*; and the whole maketh thirty *Parishes*. There are eighteen *Profeſſors* in this *Univerſity*; and there is a Spirit of a more free and generous *Learning* ſtirring there, than I ſaw in all thoſe parts. There is a great decency of *Habit* in *Baſil*, and the Garb both of the Councellors, Miniſters and Profeſſors, their *ſtiff Ruffs*, and their *long Beards*, have an Air that is Auguſt: The appointments are but ſmall, for *Councellors*, *Miniſters* and *Profeſſors* have but a hundred *Crowns* apiece: It is true, many *Miniſters* are *Profeſſors*, ſo this mendeth the matter a little: But perhaps it would go better with the State of Learning there, if they had but half the number of *Profeſſors*, and if thoſe were a little better incouraged. No where is the rule of *St. Paul* [of Womens having on their heads the Badge of the Authority under which they are brought, which by a phraſe that is not extraordinary, he calleth *Power*] better obſerved than at *Baſil*; for all the *Married Women* go to *Church* with a *Coif* on their *Heads*, that is ſo folded, that as it cometh down ſo far as to cover their *Eyes*, ſo another folding covereth alſo their *Mouth* and *Chin*, ſo that no-

nothing but the *Noſe* appears, and then all turns backward in a folding, that hangeth down to their midleg. This is always *White*; ſo that there is there ſuch a ſight of *White Heads* in their *Churches*, as cannot be found any where elſe: The *Unmarried Women* wear *Hats*, turned up in the brims before and behind; and the brims of the ſides being about a foot broad, ſtand out far on both hands: This faſhion is alſo at *Strasburg*, and is worn there alſo by the *Married Women*.

I mentioned formerly the conſtant danger to which this *Place* is expoſed, from the neighbourhood of *Hunningen*; I was told, that at firſt it was pretended, that the *French King* intended to build only a ſmall *Fort* there, and it was believed, that one of the *Burgomaſters* of *Baſil*, who was thought not only the wiſeſt man of that *Canton*, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all men ſleep, and to aſſure them, that the ſuffering this *Fort* to be built ſo near them, was of no importance to them; but now they ſee too late their fatal Error: For the place is great, and will hold a *Garriſon* of three or four thouſand *Men*; it is a *Pentagone*, only the ſide to the *Rhine* is ſo large, that if it went round on that ſide, I believe it muſt have been a *Hexagone*; the *Baſtions* have all *Orillons*, and in the middle of them there is a void ſpace, not filled up with earth, where there is a *Magazine* built ſo thick in the *Vault*, that it is proof againſt *Bombs*: The *Ramparts* are

are ſtrongly faced; there is a large *Ditch*, and before the *Cortine*, in the middle of the Ditch, there runs all along a *Horn-work*, which is but ten or twelve foot high; and from the bottom of the *Rampart*, there goeth a *Vault* to this *Horn-work*, that is for conveying of men for its defence; before this *Horn-work* there is a *half Moon*, with this that is peculiar to thoſe new *Fortifications*, that there is a *Ditch* that cuts the *half Moon* in an *Angle*, and maketh one *half Moon* within another; beyond that there is a *Counterſcarp* about twelve foot high above the *Water*, with a covered *Way*, and a *Glacy* deſigned, tho not executed; there is alſo a great *Horn-work* beſides all this, which runs out a huge way with its *Out-works* towards *Baſil*; there is alſo a *Bridge* laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an *Iſland* in the *River*, where the *Bridge* is laid, there is a *Horn-work* that filleth and fortifieth it. The Buildings in this *Fort* are beautiful, and the *Square* can hold above four thouſand *Men*; the *Works* are not yet quite finiſhed, but when all is compleated, this will be one of the *ſtrongeſt* places in *Europe*: There is a *Cavelier* on one or two of the *Baſtions*, and there are *half Moons* before the *Baſtions*, ſo that the *Switzers* ſee their danger now, when it is not eaſy to redreſs it. This place is ſcituated in a great *Plain*, ſo that it is commanded by no riſing ground on any ſide of it. I made a little *Tour* into *Alſace*, as far as *Mountbelliard*; the Soil is extream rich, but it hath been

been ſo long a *Frontier Country*; and is, by conſequence, ſo ill peopled, that it is in many places over-grown with Woods: In one reſpect it is fit to be the ſeat of *War*, for it is full of *Iron-works*, which bring a great deal of *Money* into the Country. I ſaw nothing peculiar in the *Iron-Works* there (except that the ſides of the great *Bellows* were not of *Leather*, but of *Wood*, which ſaves much money) ſo I will not ſtand to deſcribe them. The *River* of the *Rhine*, all from *Baſil* to *Spire*, is ſo low, and is on both ſides ſo covered with *Woods*, that one that cometh down in a Boat hath no ſight of the *Country*: The *River* runneth ſometimes with ſuch a force, that nothing but ſuch *woods* could preſerve its *Banks*, and even theſe are not able to ſave them quite; for the *Trees* are often waſhed away by the very Roots, ſo that in many places thoſe *Trees* ly along in the *Channel* of the *River*: It hath been alſo thought a ſort of a *Fortification* to both ſides of the *River*, to have it thus faced with Woods, which maketh the paſſing of *Men* dangerous, when they muſt march for ſometime after their paſſage through a *defilé*. The firſt night from *Baſil* we came to *Briſac*, which is a poor and miſerable Town, but it is a noble *Fortification*, and hath on the Weſt-ſide of the *River*, over which a *Bridge* is laid, a regular *Fort* of four or five *Baſtions*. The Town of *Briſac* riſeth all on a Hill, which is a conſiderable height; there were near it two *Hills*, the one is taken within the *Fortification*, and the other

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is ſo well levelled with the ground, that one cannot ſo much as find out where it was; All the ground about for many Miles is plain, ſo that from the *Hill*, as from a *Cavalier*, one can ſee exactly well, eſpecially with the help of a *Proſpect*, all the motions of an Enemy in caſe of a *Siege*: The *Fortification* is of a huge compaſs, above a *French League*, indeed almoſt a *German League*; the *Baſtions* are quite filled with Earth, they are faced with *Brick*, and have a huge broad *Ditch* full of *Water* around them, the *Counterſcarp*, the covered *Way*, which hath a *Paliſade* within the *Parapet*, and the *Glacy*, are all well executed; there is a *half Moon* before every *Cortine*: the *Baſtions* have no *Orillons* except one or two, and the *Cortines* are ſo diſpoſed, that a good part of them defendeth the *Baſtion*. The *Garriſon* of this Place in time of *War* muſt needs be eight or ten thouſand *Men*; there hath not been much done of late to this place, only the *Ditch* is ſo adjuſted, that it is all defended by the *Flanks* of the *Baſtions*. But the nobleſt place on the *Rhine* is *Strasburg*: it is a *Town* of a huge extent, and hath a double *Wall* and *Ditch* all round it: the inner *Wall* is old, and of no ſtrength, nor is the outward *Wall* very good, it hath a *Fauſſebraye*, and is faced with *Brick* twelve or fifteen foot above the *Ditch*: the *Counterſcarp* is in an ill condition, ſo that the *Town* was not in caſe to make any long reſiſtance; but it is now ſtrongly fortified. There is a *Cittadel* built on that ſide that goeth towards

wards the *Rhine*, that is much ſuch a *Fort* as that of *Hunningen*, and on the ſide of the *Cittadel* towards the *Bridge*, there is a great *Hornwork*, that runs out a great way with Out-works belonging to it; there are alſo ſmall *Forts* at the two chief Gates that lead to *Alſace*; by which the *City* is ſo bridled, that theſe can cut off all its communication with the *Country* about, in caſe of a Revolt: the *Bridge* is alſo well fortifyed; there are alſo *Forts* in ſome *Islands* in the *Rhine*, and ſome *Redoubts*; ſo that all round this place, there is one of the greateſt *Fortifications* that is in *Europe*.

Hitherto the *Capitulation*, with relation to *Religion*, hath been well kept, and there is ſo ſmall a number of new *Converts*, and theſe are for the greateſt part ſo inconſiderable, they not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not imploy the *new-faſhioned* Miſſionaries *à la Dragonné*, the *old ones* are not like to have ſo great a harveſt there as they promiſed themſelves, tho they are *Jeſuites*. The *Lutherans* for the greateſt part, retain their Animoſities almoſt to an equal degree both againſt *Papiſts* and *Calviniſts*. I was in their *Church*, where, if the *Muſick* of their *Pſalms* pleaſed me much, the *Irreverence* in *ſinging*, it being free to keep on, or put off the *Hat*, did appear very ſtrange to me: The *Churches* are full of *Pictures*, in which the chief paſſages of our *Saviours* Life are repreſented; but there is no ſort of religious reſpect pay'd them; they *bow* when they name the *Holy Ghoſt*, as well as at the Name of *Je-*

sus: but they have not the *Ceremonies* that the *Lutherans* of *Saxony* use, which *Mr. Bebel*, their *Professor* of Divinity, said was a great happiness; for a similitude in outward Rites might dispose the ignorant people to change too easily. I found several good people both of the *Lutheran Ministers* and others, acknowledge, that there was such a Corruption of Morals spread over the whole *City*, that as they had justly drawn down on their heads the Plague of the loss of their Liberty, so this having toucht them so little, they had reason to look for severer strokes: One seeth, in the ruin of this *City*, what a mischievous thing the popular pride of a *free City* is: they fancied they were able to defend themselves, and so they refused to let an *Imperial Garrison* come within their *Town*: for if they had received only five hundred *men*, as that small number would not have been able to have oppress their Liberties, so it would have so secured the *Town*, that the *French* could not have besieged it, without making *War* on the *Empire*: but the *Town* thought this was a Diminution of their Freedom, and so chose rather to pay a *Garrison* of three thousand *Souldiers*, which as it exausted their *Revenue*, and brought them under great *Taxes*, so it proved too weak for their defence when the *French Army* came before them. The *Town* begins to sink in its *Trade*, notwithstanding the great circulation of *Money* that the expence of the *Fortifications* hath brought to it: but when that is at an end, it will sink more sensibly; for it

it is impoſſible for a *Place of Trade*, that is to have alwayes eight or ten thouſand *Souldiers* in it, to continue long in a Flouriſhing State. There was a great Animoſity between *two* of the chief *Familys* of the Town, *Dietrick* and *Obrecht*; the former was the *Burgomaſter*, and was once almoſt run down by a Faction that the other had raiſed againſt him: but he turned the tide, and got ſuch an advantage againſt *Obrecht*, who had writ ſomewhat againſt the Conduct of their Affairs, that he was Condemned and Beheaded for writing *libels* againſt the *Government*. His Son is a learned man, and was *Profeſſor* of the *Civil Law*: and he to have his turn of revenge againſt *Dietrick*, went to *Paris* laſt Summer, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his *Religion*. *Dietrick* had been alwayes looked on as one of the *chief* of the *French Faction*, tho he had been at firſt an *Imperialiſt*, ſo it was thought, that he ſhould have been well rewarded; yet it was expected, that to make himſelf capable of that, he ſhould have changed his *Religion*; but he was an ancient man, and would not purchaſe his Court at that rate: ſo without any reaſon given, and againſt the expreſs words of the *Capitulation*, he was confined to one of the midland *Provinces* of *France*, as I remember, it was *Limoſin*; and thus *he*, that hath been thought the chief cauſe of this *Town's* falling under the power of the *French*, is the firſt man that hath felt the effects of it. The *Library* here is conſiderable; The Caſe is a

great *Room*, very well contrived; for it is divided into *Closets* all over the body of the *Room*, which runs about these as a *Gallery*, and in these *Closets* all round there are the *Books* of the several Professions lodged apart: There is one for *Manuscripts*, in which there are some of considerable *Antiquity*. I need say nothing to you of the vast height, and the *Gothick Architecture* of the *Steeple* and of the great *Church*, nor of the curious *Clock*, where there is so vast a variety of motions; for these are well known. The *Bas Reliefs* upon the Tops of the great *Pillars* of the *Church* are not so visible, but they are surprizing; for this being a *Fabrick* of three or four hundred *years* old, it is very strange to see such Representations as are there. There is a *Procession* represented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the *Holy Water*, and *Asses* and *Hogs* in *Priestly Vestments* follow to make up the *Procession*; there is also an *Ass* standing before an *Altar*, as if he were going to *Consecrate*, and one carrieth a Case with *Reliques*, within which one seeth a *Fox*; and the *Trains* of all that go in this *Procession*, are carried up by *Monkies*. This seems to have been made in hatred of the *Monks*, whom the *Secular Clergy* abhorred at that time, because they had drawn the Wealth, and the following of the World after them, and they had exposed the *Secular Clergy*, so much for their ignorance, that it is probable after some Ages, the *Monks* falling under the same contempt, the *Secular Clergy* took their

their turn in expoſing them in ſo laſting a Repreſentation to the Scorn of the World. There is alſo in the *Pulpit* a *Nun* cut in *Wood*, lying along, and a *Fryer* lying near her with his *Breviary* open before him, and his hand under the *Nuns* habit, and the *Nuns* feet are ſhod with iron ſhoes. I confeſs, I did not look for theſe things; for I had not heard of them; but my Noble Friend Mr. *Ablancourt* viewed them with great exactneſs, while he was the *French Kings* Reſident at *Strasburg*, in the company of one of the *Magiſtrates* that waited on him; and it is upon his credit, to which all that know his eminent ſincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this particular.

From *Strasburg* we went down the *Rhine* to *Philipsburg*, which lyeth at a quarter of a Miles diſtance from the *River*; it is but a ſmall place, the *Baſtions* are but little: there is a *Ravellin* before almoſt all the *Cortines*, and there ly ſuch *Marishes* all round it, that in theſe lyeth the chief ſtrength of the place. The *French* had begun a great *Crown-work* on the ſide that lyeth to the *Rhine*, and had caſt out a *Horn-work* beyond that; but by all that appears, it ſeems they intended to continue that *Crown-work* quite round the *Town*, and to make a ſecond *Wall* and *Ditch* all round it; which would have inlarged the place vaſtly, and made a compaſs capable enough to lodge above ten thouſand Men: and this would have

been ſo terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate*, and all *Franconia*, that it was a Maſter-piece in *Charles Lewis*, the late *Elector Palatine*, to ingage the *Empire* into this *Siege*. He ſaw well, how much it concerned him to have it out of the hands of the *French*, ſo that he took great care to have the *Duke of Lorrain's Camp* ſo well ſupplied with all things neceſſary, during the *Siege*, that the *Army* lay not under the leaſt uneaſineſs all the while. From thence in three Hours time we came to *Spire*, which is ſo naked a *Town*, that if it were attacked, it could not make the leaſt reſiſtance. The *Town* is neither great nor rich, and ſubſiſted chiefly by the *Imperial Chamber* that ſitteth here, tho there is a conſtant diſpute between the *Town* and the *Chamber* concerning *Priviledges*; for the *Government* of the *Town*, pretends, that the *Judges* of the *Chamber*, as they are private men, and out of the *Court of Judicature*, are ſubject to them; and ſo about a year ago they put one of the *Judges* in Priſon: on the other hand, the *Judges* pretend, that their perſons are ſacred. It was the conſideration of the *Chamber* that procured to the *Town* the *Neutrality* that they injoyed all the laſt *War*. I thought to have ſeen the forms of this *Court*, and the way of laying up, and preſerving their *Records*, but the *Court* was not then ſitting. The *Building*, the *Halls* and *Chambers* of this famous *Court* are mean beyond imagination, and look liker the *Halls* of ſome ſmall Company,

pany, than of ſo great a body; and I could not ſee the *places* where they lay up their *Archives*; The *Government* of the *City* is all *Lutheran*; but not only the *Cathedral* is in the hands of the *Biſhop* and *Chapter*, but there are likewiſe ſeveral *Convents* of both *Sexes*; and the *Jeſuites* have alſo a *Colledge* there. There is little remarkable in the *Cathedral*, which is a huge building in the *Gothick* manner, of the worſt ſort. The *Tombs* of many *Emperors*, that ly buried there, are remarkable for their meanneſs; they being only great *Flagſtones* layed on ſome ſmall *Stone-balliſters* of a foot and a half high: There are alſo the marks of a ridiculous *Fable* concerning *St. Bernard*, which is too fooliſh to be related, yet ſince they have taken ſuch pains to preſerve the remembrance of it, I ſhall venture to write it. There are from the *Gate* all along the *Nef* of the *Church* up to the Steps that go up to the *Quire*, *four* round *Plates* of Braſs, above a foot *Diameter*, and at the diſtance of thirty foot one from another, laid in the pavement; on the firſt of theſe is ingraven, *O Clemens*; on the ſecond, *O Pia*; on the third, *O Felix*; and on the fourth, *Maria*: The laſt is about thirty foot diſtant from a *Statue* of the *Virgins*: ſo they ſay that *St. Bernard* came up the whole length of the *Church* at *Four Steps*, and that thoſe *four Plates* were laid where he ſtept: and that at every *Step* he pronounced the word that is ingraven on the *Plate*; and when

he came to the laſt, the *Image* of the *Virgin* anſwered him, *Salve Bernarde*, upon which he anſwered, *Let a Woman keep ſilence in the Church*; and that the *Virgin's Statue* has kept ſilence ever ſince: This laſt part of the Story is certainly very credible. He was a *Man of Learning* that ſhewed me this; and he repeated it ſo gravely to me, that I ſaw he either believed it, or at leaſt that he had a mind to make me believe it: and I asked him as gravely, if that was firmly believed there; he told me, that one had lately writ a *Book* to prove the truth of it, as I remember, it was a *Jeſuit*: He acknowledged, it was not an *Article of Faith*; ſo I was ſatisfied. There is in the *Cloiſter* an old *Gothick* Repreſentation of our *Saviours Agony* in ſtone, with a great many *Figures* of his *Apoſtles*, and the *Company* that came to ſeize him, that is not ill *Sculpture*, for the Age in which it was made, it being ſome Ages old. The *Calviniſts* have a *Church* in this *Town*, but their numbers are not conſiderable: I was told there were ſome ancient *Manuſcripts* in the *Library*, that belongeth to the *Cathedral*: but one of the *Prebendaries*, to whom I addreſſed my ſelf, being, according to the *German* Cuſtom, a Man of greater Quality than Learning, told me; he heard they had ſome ancient *Manuſcripts*, but he knew nothing of it; and the *Dean* was abſent, ſo I could not ſee them; for he kept one of the Keys. The *lower Palatinate* is certainly one of the ſweeteſt Countryes of all

all *Germany*: It is a great Plain till one cometh to the Hills of *Heidelberg*: the *Town* is ill ſituated, juſt in a bottom, between two ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended: I need ſay nothing of the *Caſtle*, nor the prodigious *Wine-Cellar*, in which, tho there is but one celebrated *Tun*, that is ſeventeen foot high, and twenty ſix foot long, and is built with a ſtrength liker that of the ribs of a ſhip, than the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other *Tuns* of ſuch a prodigious bigneſs, that they would ſeem very extraordinary, if this vaſt one did not Eclipſe them. The late *Prince Charles Lewis* ſhewed his capacity in the peopling and ſetling this *State*, that had been ſo intirely ruined, being for many *Years* the *Seat* of *War*; for in four years time he brought it to a Flouriſhing condition: He raiſed the *Taxes* as high as was poſſible without diſpeopling his Country, all mens *Eſtates* were valued, and they were taxed at five *per cent* of the value of their Eſtates; but their Eſtates were not valued to the rigour, but with ſuch abatements as have been ordinary in *England* in the times of *Subſidies*; ſo that when his *Son* offered to bring the *Taxes* down to two *per Cent* of the real value, the *Subjects* all deſired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no *Prince* in *Germany* that is more *abſolute* than the *Elector Palatine*; for he layeth on his *Subjects* what *Taxes* he pleaſeth, without being limited to any forms of *Government*. And

here I ſaw that which I had alwayes believed to be true, that the *Subjects of Germany* are only bound to their particular *Prince*; for they ſwear *Allegiance* ſingly to the *Elector*, without any reſerve for the *Emperour*; and in their *Prayers* for him, they name him their *Soveraign*. It is true, the *Prince* is under ſome ties to the *Emperour*; but the *Subjects* are under none. And by this *D. Fabritius*, a learned and judicious *Profeſſor* there, explained thoſe words of *Pareus's* Commentary on the *Romans*, which had reſpect only to the *Princes* of the *Empire:* and were quite miſunderſtood by thoſe who fancied that they favoured *Rebellion*; for there is no place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than there. I found a great ſpirit of Moderation, with relation to thoſe ſmall *Controverſies*, that have occaſioned ſuch heat in the *Proteſtant Churches*, reigning in the *Univerſity* there, which is in a great meaſure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy *Temper* of *Mind* of *D. Fabritius*, and *D. Miek*; who as they were long in *England*, ſo they have that generous *largneſs of Soul*, which is the Noble Ornament of many of the *English Divines*, *Prince Charls Lewis* ſaw that *Manheim* was marked out by Nature to be the moſt important place of all his *Territory*, it being ſcituated in the point where the *Neckar* falleth into the *Rhine*; ſo that thoſe two *Rivers* defending it on two ſides, it was capable of a good *Fortification*: It is true, the *Air* is not thought wholſome; and

and the *Water* is not good, yet he made a fine *Town* there, and a Noble *Cittadel*, with a regular *Fortification* about it; and he deſigned a great *Palace* there, but he did not live to build it. He ſaw of what advantage *Liberty of Conſcience* was to the peopling of his *Country*; ſo as he ſuffered the *Jews* to come and ſettle there, he reſolved alſo not only to ſuffer the *three Religions*, tolerated by the *Laws* of the *Empire*, to be profeſſed there, but he built a *Church* for them all *three*, which he called *the Church of the Concord*, in which both *Calviniſts*, *Lutherans* and *Papiſts* had, in the order in which I have ſet them down, the exerciſe of their *Religion*; and he maintained the peace of his *Principality* ſo intirely, that there was not the leaſt Diſorder occaſioned by this *Toleration*: This indeed made him to be lookt on as a *Prince* that did not much conſider *Religion* himſelf: He had a wonderful application to all affairs, and was not only his own chief *Miniſter*, but he alone did the work of many.

But I were Injuſt if I ſhould not ſay ſomewhat to you, of the *Princely Vertues* and the *Celebrated Probity* of the *preſent Pr. Elector*, upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the extinction of ſo many *Princes*; that in this Age compoſed the moſt numerous *Family* of any of that rank in *Europe*. This *Prince*, as he is in many reſpects an honour to the *Religion* that he profeſſes, ſo is in nothing more to be commended by thoſe who differ from him, than for his exact adhereing to the Promiſes

miſes he made his *Subjects* with relation to their *Religion*, in which he has not (even in the ſmalleſt matters) broke in upon their eſtabliſht *Laws*; and tho an *Order of Men*, that have turned the world up-ſide down, have great credit with him, yet it is hitherto viſible, that they cannot carry it ſo far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the eſtabliſhed *Religion*; and ſo *thoſe ſacred Promiſes* that he made his *Subjects*. For he makes it appear to all the world, that he does not conſider thoſe, *as ſo many words ſpoken at firſt to lay his people aſleep, which he may now explain and obſerve as he thinks fit*; but as ſo many *Ties* upon his *Conſcience* and *Honour*, which he will *Religiouſly* obſerve. And as in the other parts of his *Life*, he has ſet a Noble Pattern to all the *Princes of Europe*, ſo his exactneſs to his *Promiſes*, is that which cannot be too much commended: of which this extraordinary *Inſtance* has been communicated to me ſince I am come into this Country. The *Elector* had a *Proceſſion* in his *Court* laſt *Corpus Chriſti* day, upon which one of the *Miniſters* of *Heidelberg* preacht a very ſevere *Sermon* againſt *Popery*, and in particular taxed that *Proceſſion* perhaps with greater plainneſs than diſcretion: This being brought to the *Electors* Ears, he ſent preſently an *Order* to the *Eccleſiaſtical Senate* to ſuſpend him. That *Court* is compoſed of ſome *Secular men* and ſome *Churchmen*, and as the *Princes Authority* is delegated to them, ſo they have a ſort of an *Epiſcopal juriſdi-*

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ction over all the *Clergy*: This *Order* was a ſurpriſe to them, as being a direct breach upon their *Laws* and the liberty of their *Religion*: ſo they ſent a *Deputation* to *Court*, to let the *Elector* know the reaſons that hindred them from obeying his *Orders*, which were heard with ſo much Juſtice and Gentleneſs, that the *Prince*, inſtead of expreſſing any Diſpleaſure againſt them, recalled the *Order* that he had ſent them. The way from *Heidelberg* to *Frankfort*, is, for the firſt twelve or fifteen *Miles*, the beautifulleſt piece of ground that can be imagined; for we went under a ridge of little *Hills* that are all covered with *Vines*, and from them, as far as the eye can go, there is a beautiful *Plain* of Corn-fields and Meadows, all ſweetly divided and incloſed with rows of Trees, ſo that I fancied I was in *Lombardy* again, but with this advantage, that here all was not of a piece, as it is in *Lombardy*; but the *Hills*, as they made a pleaſant inequality in the proſpect, ſo they made the *Air* purer, and produced a pleaſant *Wine*: The way near *Darmſtat*, and all forwards to *Frankfort*; becometh more wild and more ſandy: There is a good *Suburb* on the South-ſide of the *Main* over againſt *Frankfort*, which hath a very conſiderable *Fortification*; there is a double *Wall*, and a double *Ditch*, that goeth round it; and the outward *Wall*, as it is regularly *fortified*, ſo it is faced with *Brick* to a conſiderable height. The Town of *Frankfort* is of a great extent, and ſeemed to be but about a third part leſs than *Strasburg*:

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The *three Religions* are alſo tolerated there; and tho the number of the *Papiſts* is very inconſiderable, yet they have the great *Church*, which is a huge rude building; they have alſo ſeveral other *Churches*, and ſome *Convents* there. There are ſeveral open *Squares* for Market places, and the *Houſes* about them look very well without. Among their *Archives* they preſerve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great *Parchment* writ in *High Dutch*, without any beauty anſwering to its Title: and ſince I could not have underſtood it, I was not at the pains of deſiring to ſee it; for that is not obtained without difficulty. The *Lutherans* have here built a new *Church*, called *St. Katherines*, in which there is as much *painting* as ever I ſaw in any *Popiſh Church*; and over the *high Altar* there is an huge carved *Crucifix*, as there are *painted ones* in other places of their *Church*: The *Pulpit* is extream fine, of *Marble* of different colours, very well poliſhed and joyned. I was here at *Sermon*, where I underſtood nothing; but I liked one thing that I ſaw both at *Stratsburg* and *here*, that at the end of *Prayers*, there was a conſiderable interval of ſilence left, before the concluſion, for all peoples private Devotions. In the *Houſe* of their *publick Diſcipline*, they retain ſtill the old *Roman Piſtrina* or *Hand-mill*; at which *lewd Women* are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the *Wheel* that maketh the *Milſtones* go. There is a great number of *Jews* there, tho

tho their two *Synagogues* are very little, and by conſequence, the *Numbers* being great, they are very naſty. I was told, they were in all above *twelve hundred*. The *Women* had the moſt of a tawdry *Imbroidery* of *Gold* and *Silver* about them that ever I ſaw; for they had all *Mantles* of *Crape*, and both about the top and the bottom, there was a border above a hand breadth of *Imbrodery*. The *Fortification* of *Frankfort* is conſiderable; their *Ditch* is very broad, and very full of *Water*; all the *Baſtions* have a *Countermine*, that runneth along by the brim of the *Ditch*; but the *Counterſcarp* is not faced with *Brick* as the *Walls* are, and ſo in many places it is in an ill condition; the covered *Way* and *Glacy* are alſo in an ill caſe: The *Town* is rich, and driveth a great *Trade*, and is very pleaſantly ſcituated. Not far from hence is *Hockam*, that yieldeth the beſt *Wine* of thoſe parts. Since I took *Frankfort* in my way from *Heidelberg* to *Mentz*, I could not paſs by *Worms*, for which I was ſorry. I had a great mind to ſee that place where *Luther* made his firſt appearance before the *Emperour*, and the *Diet*, and in that ſolemn *Audience* expreſſed an undaunted Zeal for that *Glorious Cauſe* in which God made him ſuch a bleſſed *Inſtrument*. I had another piece of Curioſity on me, which will perhaps appear to you ſomewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to ſee a *Picture*, that as I was told, is over one of the *Popiſh Altars* there, which one would think was Invented by the Enemies of

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Transubstantiation to make it appear ridiculous. There is a *Windmill*, and the *Virgin* throws *Christ into the Hopper*, and he comes out at the *Eye* of the *Mill* all in *Wafers*, which some *Priests* take up to give to the *People*. This is such course an Emblem, that one would think it too gross even for *Laplanders*; but a man that can swallow *Transubstantiation* it self, will digest this likewise. *Mentz* is very nobly situated, on a rising ground, a little below the conjunction of the two *Rivers*, the *Rhine* and the *Main*; it is of too great a compass, and too ill peopled to be capable of a great defence: there is a *Citadel* upon the highest part of the *Hill* that commandeth the *Town*; it is compassed about with a dry *Ditch*, that is considerably deep. The *Walls* of the *Town* are faced with *Brick*, and regularly *fortified*, but the *Counterscarp* is not faced with *Brick*, so all is in a sad condition; and the *Fortification* is weakest on that side where the *Electors Palace* is. There is one side of a new *Palace* very nobly built in a regular *Architecture*, only the *Germans* do still retain somewhat of the *Gothick* manner. It is of a great length, and the design is to build quite round the *Court*, and then it will be a very magnificent *Palace*, only the *Stone* is red; for all the *Quarries* that are upon the *Rhine*, from *Basil* down to *Coblentz*, are of *red stone*, which doth not look beautiful. The *Elector of Mentz* is an absolute *Prince*: his *Subjects* present *Lists* of their *Magistrates* to him, but he is not tied to them

them, and may name whom he will: The Ancient Demeasn of the *Electorat* is about forty thousand *Crowns*: but the *Taxes* rise to about three hundred thousand *Crowns*; so that the *Subjects* here are as heavily taxed as in the *Palatinate*: There is twelve thousand *Crowns* a *year* given the *Elector* for his privy Purse, and the *State* bears the rest of his whole expence: It can Arm ten thousand Men, and there is a *Garrison* of two thousand Men in *Mentz*: this *Elector* hath three *Councils*, one as he is *Chancellour* of the *Empire*, consisting of three persons: The other two are for the *Policy* and *Justice* of his *Principality*. He, and his *Chapter* have *Months* by turns for the Nomination of the *Prebends*. In the Month of *January* he names if any dyes, and they chuse in the Room of such as dye in *February*, and so all the *year* round. The *Prebendaries* or *Dome-Heers* have about three thousand *Crowns* a year apiece. When the *Elector* dieth, the *Emperor* sendeth one to see the *Election* made, and he recommendeth one, but the *Canons* may chuse whom they please; and the present *Elector* was not of the *Emperors* Recommendation. Besides the *Palace* at *Mentz*, the *Elector* hath another near *Frankfort*, which is thought the best that is in those parts of *Germany*: The *Cathedral* is a huge *Gothick* Building; there is a great *Cupulo* in the West-end, and there the *Quire* singeth *Mass*: I could not learn whether this was done only because the place here was of

greater reception than at the East-end, or if any burying place and indowment obliged them to the West-end. Near the *Cathedral* there is a huge *Chappel* of great Antiquity, and on the *North Door* there are two great *Brass Gates* with a long *Inscription*, which I had not time to write out, but I found it was in the *Emperor Lotharius's* time. There are a vast number of *Churches* in this *Town*, but it is poor and ill inhabited. The *Rhine* here is almost half an *English mile* broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats lay'd over it. From *Mentz* all along to *Baccharach* (which seems to carry its name [*Bacchi Ara*] from some famous *Altar* that the *Romans* probably erected by reason of the good *Wine* that grows in the Neighbourhood.) There is a great number of very considerable *Villages* on both sides of the *River*: Here the *Rats Tower* is shewed, and the *People* of the *Country* do all firmly believe the *Story* of the *Rats* eating up an *Elector*, and that tho he fled to this *Island*, where he built a small high *Tower*, they pursued him still, and swimmed after him, and eat him up: and they told us, that there were some of his *Bones* to be seen still in the *Tower*. This extraordinary death makes me call to mind a very particular and unlooked for sort of Death, that carried off a poor *Labourer* of the ground a few dayes before I left *Geneva*. The Foot of one of his *Cattel*, as he was ploughing, went into a *Nest of Wasps*, upon which the whole *Swarm* came out, and set upon him that held the Plow, and killed him

him in a very little time; and his *Body* was prodigiously swelled with the *poison* of so many Stings. But to return to the *Rhine*; all the way from *Baccharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both sides of the *River* hanging Grounds, or little *Hills*, so laid, as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich *Rhenish Wine*. They are indeed as well exposed to the *Sun*, and covered from *Storms*, as can be imagined; and the Ground on those *Hills*, which are in some places of a considerable height, is so cultivated, that there is not an inch lost that is capable of improvement, and this bringeth so much Wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great number of considerable *Villages*. *Coblentz* is the strongest place that I saw of all that belong to the *Empire*; the situation is Noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Mosselle* passing along the side of the *Town*; it is well fortified, the *Ditch* is large, the *Counterscarp* is high, and the covered *Way* is in a good Condition; both *Walls* and *Counterscarp* are faced with *Brick*, and there are *Ravelines* before the *Cortines*; but on the side of the *Mosselle* it is very slightly fortifyed, and there is no *Fort* at the end of the *Stone Bridge* that is laid over the *Mosselle*, so that it lieth quite open on that side, which seemeth a strange defect in a place of that consequence: But tho the *Fortifications* of this place are very considerable, yet its chief defence lieth in the *Fort* of *Hermanstan*, which is built on the top of a very high *Hill*, that lyeth on the other

side of the *Rhine*; and which commandeth this place so absolutely, that he who is Master of *Hermanstan*, is alwayes Master of *Coblentz*. This belongeth to the *Elector of Trier*, whose *Palace* lyeth on the East-side of the *Rhine*, just at the Foot of the Hill of *Hermanstan*, and over against the point where the *Moselle* falleth into the *Rhine*, so that nothing can be more pleasantly scituated; only the ground begins to rise just at the back of the House with so much steepness, that there is not Room for Gardens or Walks. The House maketh a great shew upon the *River*, but we were told, that the Apartments within were not answerable to the outside. I say, we were told; for the *German Princes* keep such forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their *Courts*, unless it be when they are abroad themselves; so that we neither got within the *Palace* at *Mentz*, nor this of *Hermanstan*. It is but a few Hours from this to *Bonne*, where the *Elector of Collen* keepeth his *Court*: The Place hath a regular *Fortification*; the *Walls* are faced with *Brick*; but tho the *Ditch*, which is dry, is pretty broad, the *Counterscarp* is in so ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This *Elector* is the Noblest born, and the best provided of all the *German Clergy*; for he is Brother to the Great *Maximilian Duke of Bavaria*; and besides *Collen*, he hath *Liege*, *Munster*, and *Hildelsheim*, which are all great *Bishopricks*: He hath been also six and thirty *years* in the *Electorate*: His *Palace* is very mean, consisting

sting but of one *Court*; the half of which is cast into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very *Court*; the lower part of the *Court* was a Stable: but he hath made an *Apartment* here, that is all furnished with *Pictures*; where, as there are some of the hands of the greatest *Masters*, so there are a great many toils to set these off, that are scarce good enough for Sign-posts.

The *Elector* has a great many *Gold Medalls*, which will give me occasion to tell you one of the Extravaganteſt pieces of Forgery that perhaps ever was; which happned to be found out at the laſt ſiege of *Bonne*: for while they were clearing the ground for planting a *Battery*, they diſcovered a *Vault*, in which there was an *Iron cheſt* that was full of *Medalls of Gold* to the value of 100000 *Crowns*; and of which I was told the *Elector* bought to the value of 30000 *Crowns*. They are huge big, one weighed 800 *Ducats*, and the *Gold* was of the fineneſs of *Ducat Gold*: but tho they bore the Impreſſions of *Roman Medalls*, or rather *Medaillons*, they were all *Counterfeit*; and the imitation was ſo coarſely done, that one muſt be extream Ignorant in *Medalls* to be deceived by them. Some few that ſeemed true, were of the late *Greek Emperors*. Now it is very unaccountable, what could induce a man to make a forgery upon ſuch *Metals*, and in ſo vaſt a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground, eſpecially in an Age in which ſo much *Gold* was ten times the

value of what is at preſent; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred *years* ago.

The *Prince* went out a hunting while we were there, with a very handſome *Guard* of about fourſcore *Horſe*, well mounted; ſo we ſaw the *Palace*, but were not ſuffered to ſee the *Apartment* where he lodged. There is a great Silver *Caſolette* gilt, all ſet with *Emeralds* and *Rubies*, that tho they made a fine appearance, yet were a Compoſition of the *Princes* own making: His Officers alſo ſhewed us a *Baſon* and *Ewer*, which they ſaid were of *Mercury* fixed by the *Prince* himſelf; but they added, that now for many years he wrought no more in his *Labouratory*. I did not eaſily believe this, and as the weight of the *Plate* did not approach to that of *Quick-Silver*, ſo the Medicinal Vertues of fixed *Mercury* (if there is any ſuch thing) are ſo extraordinary, that it ſeemed very ſtrange to ſee twenty or thirty pound of it made up in two pieces of *Plate*. A quarter of a mile without the *Town*, the beſt *Garden* of thoſe parts of *Germany* is to be ſeen, in which there is a great variety of *Water-works*, and very many Noble *Allies* in the *French* manner, and the whole is of a very conſiderable extent; but as it hath no *Statues* of any value to adorn it, ſo the Houſe about which it lyeth, is in Ruins: and it is ſtrange to ſee, that ſo rich and ſo great a *Prince*, during ſo long a *Regency*,

gency, hath done ſo little to inlarge or beautifie his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Coblentz* are both poor and ſmall Towns. *Collen* is three hours diſtant from *Bonne*, it is of a prodigious extent, but ill built and worſe peopled in the remote parts of it: and as the *Walls* are all in an ill caſe, ſo it is not poſſible to fortify ſo vaſt a compaſs as this *Town* maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this *little State*. The *Jews* live in a little *Suburb* on the other ſide of the *River*, and may not come over, without leave obtained, for which they pay conſiderably. There is no Exerciſe of the *Proteſtant Religion* ſuffered within the *Town*, but thoſe of the *Religion* are ſuffered to live there, and they have a *Church* at two miles diſtance. The *Arſenal* here, is ſuitable to the *Fortifications*, very mean, and ill furniſhed. The *Quire* of the Great *Church* is as high in the roof, as any *Church* I ever ſaw; but it ſeemeth the Wealth of this place could not finiſh the whole *Fabrick*, ſo as to anſwer the height of the *Quire*; for the *Body* of the *Church* is very low: Thoſe that are diſpoſed to believe *Legends*, have enough here to overſet even a good degree of Credulity, both in the Story of the *Three Kings*, whoſe *Chappel* is viſited with great Devotion, and ſtandeth at the Eaſt end of the Great *Quire*; and in that more copious *Fable* of the eleven thouſand

Ursulins, whose *Church* is all over, full of rough *Tombs*, and of a vast number of Bones, that are piled up in rows about the Walls of the *Church*: These Fables are so firmly believed by the *Papists* there, that the least sign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, passeth for an infallible Mark of an *Heretick*. The *Jesuites* have a great and Noble *Colledge* and *Church* here. And for *Thauler*'s sake I went to the *Dominicans* House and *Church*, which is also very great. One grows extream weary of walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it: The present Subject of their Discourse is also very melancholy: The late *Rebellion* that was there, is so generally known, that I need not say much concerning it. A report was set about the *Town*, by some *Incendiarys*, that the *Magistrates* did eat up the *publick Revenue*, and were like to ruin the *City*; I could not learn what ground there was for these reports; for it is not ordinary to see reports of that kind fly, through a body of men, without some Foundation: It is certain, this came to be so generally believed, that there was a horrible disorder occasioned by it; The *Magistrates* were glad to save themselves from the storm, and abandoned the *Town* to the popular fury, some of them having been made sacrifices to it; and this rage held long: But within this last year, after near two years disorder, those that were sent by the *Emperor* and *Diet* to judge the matter,

matter, having threated to put the *Town* under the *Imperial Ban*, if it had stood longer out, were received, and have put the *Magistrates* again in the possession of their Authority; and all the chief *Incendiarys* were clapt in *Prison*: many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in Prison: they told us, that some executions were to be made within a week when we were there. *Dusseldorp* is the first considerable Town below *Collen*, it is the Seat of the *Duke of Juliers*, who is *Duke of Newburgh*, eldest Son to the present *Elector Palatine*. The *Palace* is old and *Gothick* enough: but the *Jesuites* have there a fine *Colledge*, and a noble *Chappel*, tho there are manifest faults in the *Architecture*: the *Protestant Religion* is tolerated, and they have a *Church* built here within these few years, that was procured by the intercession of the *Elector of Brandenburgh*, who observing exactly the *Liberty of Religion* that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had reason to see the same as duly observed in his Neighbourhood, in favour of his own *Religion*. The *Fortification* here is very ordinary, the *Ramparts* being faced but a few foot high with *Brick*. But *Keiserswart*, some hours lower on the same side, which belongeth to the *Elector of Collen*, tho it is a much worse *Town* than *Dusseldorp*, yet is much better fortified: it hath a very broad *Ditch*, and a very regular *Fortification*: the *Walls* are considerably high, faced with *Brick*, and so is the *Counterscarp*, which is also in a very good condition.

Condition. The *Fortification* of *Orſoy* is now quite demoliſhed. *Rhineberg* continueth as it was, but the *Fortification* is very mean, only of Earth, ſo that it is not capable of making a great Reſiſtance. And *Weſel*, tho it is a very fine *Town*, yet is a very poor *Fortification*, nor can it ever be made good, except at a vaſt expence: for the ground all about it being ſandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unleſs the Foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon *Piloty*. In all theſe *Towns* one ſees another air of Wealth and Abundance than in much richer *Countrys*, that are exhauſted with *Taxes*. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good *Towns*, but the *Fortifications* are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and a populous *Country*, that hath at preſent very little defence, except what it hath from its ſcituation. *Cleve* is a delicious Place, the ſcituation and proſpect are charming, and the *Air* is very pure; and from thence we came *hither* in three hours.

I will not ſay one word of the *Country* into which I am now come; for as I know that is needleſs to you on many accounts, ſo a *Picture* that I ſee here in the *Stadthouſe*, puts me in mind of the perfecteſt *Book* of its kind that is perhaps in being; for *Sir William Temple*, whoſe *Picture* hangeth here at the upper-end of the *Plenipotentiarys* that negotiated the famous *Treaty of Nimmegen*, hath indeed ſet a pattern to the World, which is done with ſuch life, that it may juſtly make others bluſh to copy after it, ſince it muſt be acknowledged,

ledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other *Places*, as he hath given us of one of the *leaſt*, but yet one of the Nobleſt parcels of the *Univerſe*, *Travelling* would become a needleſs thing, unleſs it were for diverſion: ſince one findeth no further occaſion for his curioſity in this *Country*, than what is fully ſatisfyed by his rare performance; yet I cannot give over writing, without reflecting on the Reſiſtance that this *Place* made, when ſo many other *Places* were ſo baſely delivered up, tho one doth not ſee in the ruins of the *Fortification* here, how it could make ſo long a reſiſtance; yet it was that that ſtem'd the tide of a progreſs that made all the World ſtand amazed; and it gave a little time to the *Dutch* to recover themſelves out of the conſternation, into which ſo many blows, that came ſo thick one after another, had ſtruck them.

But then the World ſaw a change, that tho it hath not had ſo much Incenſe given to it, as the happy conjuncture of another *Prince* hath drawn after it, with ſo much exceſs, that all the topicks of flattery ſeem exhauſted by it, yet will appear to poſterity one of the moſt ſurprizing *Scenes* in *Hiſtory*, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the *Roman State* after the Battel of *Canne*. When a *young Prince*, that had never before born *Arms*, or ſo much as ſeen a *Campagne*, who had little or no *Council* about him, but that which was ſuggeſted from his own thoughts,

thoughts, and that had no extraordinary advantage by his *Education*, either for *Literature* or *Affairs*, was of a ſudden ſet at the *Head* of a *State* and *Army*, that was ſunk with ſo many loſſes, and that ſaw the beſt half of its Soil torn from it, and the powerfulleſt Enemy in the World, ſurrounded with a Victorious *Army*, that was commanded by the beſt *Generals* that the *Age* hath produced, come within ſight, and ſettle his *Court* in one of its beſt *Towns*, and had at the ſame time the greateſt force both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its deſtruction. When the *Inhabitants* were forced, that they might ſave themſelves from ſo formidable an *Enemy*, to let looſe that which on all other occaſions, is the moſt dreadful to them; and to *drown* ſo great a part of their Soil, for the preſervation of the reſt; and to complicate together all the Miſeries that a *Nation* can dread, when to the generall conſternation, with which ſo diſmal a *Scene* poſſeſſed them, a diſtraction within doors ſeemed to threaten them with the laſt ſtrokes; and while their *Army* was ſo ill diſciplined, that they durſt ſcarce promiſe themſelves any thing from ſuch feeble *Troops*, after a Peace at Land of almoſt *thirty Years* continuance; and while their chief *Ally*, that was the moſt concerned in their preſervation, was, like a great paralitick body, liker to fall on thoſe that it pretended to ſupport, and to cruſh them, than to give them any conſiderable aſſiſtance: When, I ſay, a *young Prince* came

came at the *Head* of all this, the very prospect of which would have quite damp'd an ordinary Courage, he very quickly changed the *Scene*, he animated the *Publick Councils* with a generous vigour: he found them sinking into a feebleness of hearkning to *Propositions* for a *Peace*, that were as little safe as they were honourable; but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such Infamous Terms. His credit also among the *Populace* seemed to Inspire them with a new life; they easily persuaded themselves, that as one WILLIAM *Prince of* ORANGE had formed their *State*, so here another of the same name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of *Courage* which he derived from his own *Breast*, and Infused into the whole *People*, as well as into the *Magistracy*, that preserved this *Country*. Something there was in all this that was Divine. The *publick Councils* were again setled, and the people were at quiet, when they saw him vested with a full *Authority* for that time with Relation to *Peace* and *War*, and concluded they were safe, because they were in his hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the *Interest* of his *Country*, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all *Propositions of Peace* that were hurtful to his *Country*, without so much as considering the Advantages that were offered to himself, (in which you know that I write upon sure grounds.) He refused the offer of the

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Soveraignty of its Chief *City*, that was made to him by a ſolemn *Deputation*, being ſatisfied with that *Authority* which had been ſo long maintained by his *Anceſtors* with ſo much glory, and being juſtly ſenſible, how much the breaking in upon eſtabliſhed *Laws* and *Liberties*, is fatal even to thoſe that ſeem to get by it. He thus began his publick appearance on the *Stage*, with all the diſadvantages that a *Spirit* aſpiring to true Glory could wiſh for; ſince it was Viſible, that he had nothing to truſt to, but a good Cauſe, a favourable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage: nor was ſucceſs wanting to ſuch Noble Beginnings; for he in a ſhort time, with a *Conduct* and *Spirit* beyond any thing that the World hath yet ſeen, recovered this *State*, out of ſo deſperate a diſtemper, took ſome *Places* by main force, and obliged the *Enemy* to abandon all that they had acquired in ſo feeble a manner. And if a raw *Army* had not always ſucceſs, againſt more numerous and better-trained *Troops*, and if the want of *Magazins* and *Stores* in their *Allys* Country, which was the chief *Scene* of the *War*, made that he could not *Poſt* his *Army*, and wait for favourable circumſtances, ſo that he was ſomtime, forced to run to *Action*, with a haſt that his Neceſſitys impoſed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings of a *Victory* out of the hands of the *greateſt General* of the Age, the facing a great *Monarch* with an

Army,

Army much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an ingagement; and in ſhort, the forming the *Dutch Army* to ſuch a pitch, that it became viſibly *Superior* to the *French*, that ſeemed to have been fed with Conqueſts; and the continuing the *War*, till the *Prince* that had ſacrificed the quiet of *Europe* to his *Glory*, was glad to come and treat for a *Peace* in the *Enemies Country*, and in this very place, and to ſet all Engines on work to obtain that, by the Mediation of ſome, and the Jealouſies of other *Princes*: all theſe are ſuch Performances, that Poſterity will be diſpoſed to rank them rather among the Idea's of what an imaginary *Hero* could do, than with what could be really Tranſacted in ſo ſhort a time, and in ſuch a manner. And in concluſion, every place that belonged to theſe *States*, and to their *Neighbours* along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being reſtored, theſe *Provinces* do now ſee themſelves under his happy *Conduct*, re-eſtabliſhed in their former *Peace* and *Security*. And tho ſome ſcars of ſuch deep wounds do ſtill remain, yet they find themſelves conſidered on all hands, as the *Bulwark* of *Chriſtendom*, againſt the Fears of a *new Monarchy*, and as the Preſervers of the *Peace* and *Liberty* of *Europe*.

Here is a *Harveſt*, not for forced Rhetorick, or falſe Eloquence, but for a ſevere and ſincere *Hiſtorian*, capable of affording a Work that will far exceed all thoſe luſcious Panegyricks of

of mercenary Pens; but a small or a counterfeit *Jewel* must be set with all possible Advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be shewed. I cannot end with a greater *Subject*, and I must acknowledge my self to be so inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters, so I dare not trust my self too long to the heat that so Noble an *Object* inspires, therefore I break off abruptly.

YOURS, &c.

An APPENDIX,

Containing some *Remarks*, that have been ſent to me by a *Perſon* of Quality.

A Perſon *of great Rank, that is of* Italian *extraction, and that by conſequence knows the* Countrey *well, having ſpent much of his time in it, had heard that I was giving the World an account of the* Reflections *that I had made on* the preſent State of Italy, *and upon that he writ the following* Paper *to one of his Friends, to be communicated to me; for I have not the honour of any Commerce with himſelf: The* Obſervations *that he had made, agreed ſo exactly with my own, that I thought it would be no ſmall Advantage towards the ſupporting the Credit of thoſe that I had made, to find them confirmed by ſo extraordinary a* Perſon, *whoſe* Character *(as thoſe who know him well have aſſured me) is ſo undiſputed, that if I durſt name him, this alone would ſerve to eſtabliſh the belief of the moſt* critical *parts of my* Letters *in the minds of all that ſhould read his* Paper: *but ſince I cannot adventure on this, without obtaining his Leave, and ſince he is now at ſuch a diſtance, that it is not eaſie to get his Friend to write to him, or to receive an Anſwer from him time enough, therefore I have added this* Memorial *in the* Language *in which he writ it. Which I thought fitter than to give a* Tranſlation *of it into* Engliſh. *There*

are two *Particulars in which He and I differ, and in ſo great a Variety of* Obſervations, *that are ſo* Critical, *and ſo much out of the Common road, it will not appear ſtrange, if there ſhould be ſome diſagreement, when he mentions the* Tax *that the* Pope *has laid on the* Corn; *he does not add one thing which I mention, and that is, that the* Meaſure, *by which the* Pope ſells, *is by a fifth part leſs than that by which he* buys: *The other is more conſiderable; for in the Account that he gives of the preſent* Pope's *breaking in upon the ſettlement of the* Bank, *tho it is upon the matter very near the ſame with that which I give, yet there is a difference of ſome Importance as to the manner of doing it; but as to that, all I can ſay, is, that the firſt Account I had of that* Tranſaction, *was the ſame that is in this* Gentlemans *Paper; but afterwards I had occaſion to talk of this matter very Copiouſly with* one, *that has lived many years in the* Popes *Dominions, and that has dealt much in thoſe Affairs; he has now a* Character *upon him, and ſo it is not expedient to name him: It was from him that I had the particular recital of this matter, and therefore I thought it ſurer to go upon the Information that I had from him, than upon the general Report that all Strangers may find at* Rome. *This* Paper *had been more copious, if the perſon that writ it, had not been reſtrained by ſome particular Conſiderations from ſaying any thing relating to the* Government *of* Venice.

REMARQUES *sur la* SUISSE.

ON eſt fort ſurpris quand on ſort de France, qui eſt un fort bon païs, & qu'on entre en Suiſſe qui n'eſt pas, à beaucoup prés, ſi fertile de voir cependant une ſi grande difference entre le peuple de France & celuy de Suiſſe. Le peuple en France, & ſur tout les païſans, ſont aſſez pauvres, & la plus part reduits à une grande miſere. Le peuple en Suiſſe n'eſt pas à la verité fort riche ; mais il n'y en a guere, non pas meſme les païſans, qui ſoient miſerables, la plus part ont de quoy vivre de leur travail, & des fruits que la terre produit. On voit en France par tout, meſme dans les meilleurs villes, une infinité de Mendians, & l'on n'en voit preſque point du tout dans toute la Suiſſe. Les maiſons des païſans en France ſont tres-cheti ves, & l'on n'y trouve pour tous meubles que quelques meſchants licts, des chaiſes, de paille, des eſcuelles de bois & de terre. En Suiſſe les païſans ont dans leurs maiſons de bons licts de plume, des bonnes chaiſes, & des meubles non ſeulement pour leur neceſſité, mais encore pour la commodité, des vitres dans leurs feneſtres, dont il n'y en a pas une de caſſées & du linge fort propre & fort blanc tant pour les draps de lict que pour l'uſage de la table.

Touchant le pays des GRISONS.

LE païs des Griſons eſt un païs beaucoup plus ſterile que la Suiſſe, parce qu'il eſt preſque tout entier dans les montagnes, qui ne produiſent rien du tout. Cependant comme le luxe en eſt entierement banni, & que les habitans ſont tous extrement laborieux, on n'y voit point de miſerable, & ils ſont tous fort à leur aiſe, & il y a un bon nombre de Gentilhommes qui poſſedent de grands biens. Le Gouvernement y eſt entierement populaire. Il n'y a dans tout le païs que trois ou quatre terres Nobles. Tout le reſte ſont des Domaines qu'on peut bien appeller Terres Nobles, parce qu'elles ne doivent & ne payent quoy que ce ſoit. On ne paye abſolument rien pour l'entrée dans le païs d'aucune ſorte de denrée ni de marchandiſe, non plus que pour la ſortie du païs. Chacun y joüit pleinement du fruit de ſon travail & des revenuës de ſa terre. Le Vin, quoy que porté ſur des chevaux de bats pendant 4 ou 5 journées, ne couſte pas tant que dans la plus part des endroits d'Italie ou de France, où il croit en abondance. Il y a des villages dans des hautes montagnes de 150. ou deux cent maiſons, où il ne croit aucun grain, mais ſeulement fort peu d'herbe, où il y a plus de trois ou quatre cent chevaux de charge que les païſans employent a porter les marchandiſes, dont ils tirent un ſi grand profit qu'ils vivent fort à leur aiſe, & ne manquent d'aucune choſe pour la neceſſité & la commodité de

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la vie. Les Hoſtelleries de ces Montagnes y ſont tres bonnes. On y trouve toujours outre de tres bon Pain & Vin, grande quantité de Gibier ou Venaiſon, ſuivant la ſaiſon, des bonnes Truites, de fort bonnes Chambres & de bons licts, ſuivant la couſtume du païs. Dés qu'on ſort du païs des Griſons, & qu'on entre dans le Comté de Chiavenne, on commence à parler Italien corrompuë. Quoyque le païs ſoit beaucoup plus fertile, le peuple & les païſans n'y ſont pas ſi à leur aiſe que dans le païs des Griſons, parce que les habitans ſont plus pareſſeux, & l'on commence à y voir des pauvres qui ne vous abandonnent jamais dans toute l'Italie.

Touchant le Bailliage de LUGAN.

IL y a au delà des monts quatre Balliages qui eſtoient autrefois partie du Duché de Milan. Louis XII. en perdant ce Duché, donna ce Balliaget à quelques Cantons Suiſſes. Ces Balliages ſont Lugan, Lucarno, Mendris & Belintſon. Je ne parleray à preſent que du ſeul Balliage de Lugan qui comprend quatre vingt & dixneuf Villages. Il s'en faut beaucoup que le Terroir de ce Balliage non plus que des autres, ſoit ſi bon que celuy du Milanois auquel il touche. Cependant tous les Villages de ce Balliage ſont fort peuplées. La terre y produit beaucoup, parce qu'elle eſt cultivée, & tous les habitans y ſont fort à leur aiſe. On n'y voit aucun Mendian, ni aucune marque de miſere. Toutes les maiſons ſont bonnes, bien baſties

& bien entretenuës. Le Terroir du Milanois est assurément un des meilleurs de toute l'Italie, il produit en abondance du vin, du bled, de l'huile, une tres-grande quantité de soye, & generalement parlant toutes sortes de fruits. Il y a mesme des excellents pasturages pour le Bestail. Cependant il s'en faut beaucoup que les paisans ne soient si fort à leur aise que dans le Balliage de Lugan, & on y voit en plusieurs endroits des terres incultes, & le païs n'est pas à beaucoup pres si peuplé que l'est celuy du Balliage de Lugan. On ne peut alleguer autre raison de cette difference sinon, que le Milanois est sous la domination d'Espagne, que le peuple y est chargé d'impots, de subsides & de tailles qui le rendent miserable, au lieu que le peuple de Lugan, est sous la domination des Suisses, qui ne leur imposent aucune taille ni subside.

Remarque touchant les LACS.

IE ne say si dans tout le Royaume de France, tel qu'il estoit il y a trente ans, il se trouvoit aucun Lac, sinon peut estre quelq'un dans les montagnes du Dauphiné. Depuis le Lac de Joux jusques au Lac de Garde, qui est à Defenetan, entre Bresse & Veronne dans l'Estat de Venise il y a un tres-grand nombre de Lacs: un des plus considerables de tous c'est le Lac de Geneve, apres le Lac de Neuchastel, le Lac d'Yverdun, le Lac de Morat, le Lac de Bienne, le Lac de Zurich, le Lac de Lucerne, le Lac de Constance, le Lac de Valestat & un grand nombre d'autres dans les montagnes

tagnes de Suisse. Il y a au-delà des monts le Lac de Come fort grand & considerable : le Lac de Lugan, le Lac Majeur qui a plus de 60. mille de long, & enfin le Lac de Garde. Tous ces Lacs sont remplis de tres-bon poisson & sur tout de Truite. Mais dans le Lac de Garde il se trouve un poisson excellent, qu'on nomme Carpion, incomparablement plus delicat que la Truite & que le Saumon; mais ils ne sont pas si grands, les plus grands qu'il y a ne passent pas quinze livres. Je ne sçay s'il y a aucun endroit de l'Europe où dans une si petite espace il se trouve un si grand nombre de beaux Lacs que ceux que je viens de marquer.

Touchant le Duché de FERRARE.

LE Duc de Ferrare n'a jamais esté qu'un petit Prince, parce que son Estat n'est pas fort grand. Cependant il y a eu plusieurs Ducs qui regnoient il y a 150. ans & depuis qui faisoient belle figure & tenoient un rang considerable parmi les Princes d'Italie. Leur Estat estoit extremement peuplé. Et comme le Terrior est fort fertile & bien cultivé, le Prince tiroit des revenus considerables de son Païs & avoit une fort belle Cour. Depuis que ce Duché est devolu au Saint Siege par la mort du dernier Duc de Ferrare qui ne laissa point d'enfans masles, cet Estat est entierement depeuplé. La pluspart des terres sont en friche, & les maladies regnent toutes les années dans ce Duché faute d'habitans. Il y avoit autrefois dans Ferrare du temps de leurs

Ducs plus de cent mille habitans. Il n'y en a pas à preſent quinze mille. L'herbe croit dans les ruës & la plus grande partie des maiſons ſont vuides. Le Poleſino eſt un des meilleurs Terroirs de l'Italie. Ce que les Venitiens en poſſedent eſt tres-bien cultivé & fort peuplé, & c'eſt une de leurs meilleures petites Provinces. Dés que vous avez paſſé le grand bras du Po, qu'on apelle le Lagoſcouro qui fait la ſeparation de la partie du Poleſiny qui apartient aux Venetiens d'avec celle qui appartient au Pape, quoy que le terroir de l'une & de l'autre partie ſoit entierement ſemblable, vous voyez en friche la plus grande partie des terres du Poleſiny de l'Eſtat Eccleſiaſtique. Vous voyez l'herbe ſecher & pourrir ſur les prez parce que perſonne ne prend le ſoin de les faucher, & vous paſſez dans des grands villages dont les maiſons ſont toutes deſertes, & où il n'y a pas un ſeul habitant. Il y a de la peine à croire comment il eſt poſſible qu'en moins de 80. ans un Eſtat ſi peuplé & ſi fleuriſſant ſoit entierement ruïné & preſque depeuplé. Ce qui fait voir qu'il n'y a point de Domination plus malheureux pour les ſujets que celle des Preſtres.

Touchant l'Eſtat de BOULOGNE.

SI les Papes avoient pû ſe rendre Maitres de Boulogne, comme ils ont fait de Ferrare, ils l'auroient reduit dans le meſme eſtat de miſere; mais Boulogne a conſervé tousjours ſes Privileges & ſon Gouvernement civil par les Gonfaloniers qui la gouvernent. Ils ont le droit d'envoyer

voyer des Ambaſſadeurs au Pape qui jouiſſent des meſmes prerogatives des autres Ambaſſadeurs des Eſtats & Princes libres. Le Pape ne peut confiſquer les biens d'aucun ſujet de l'Eſtat de Boulogne, pour quelque crime que ce ſoit. Il en arrive ce grand mal par accident qu'il n'y a point de Païs ou les aſſaſſinats ſoient plus frequens. Ceux qui en ſont les autheurs ſe ſauvent dans une Egliſe apres les avoir commis, comme dans un afyle inviolable, d'où les Legats ne ſauroient les tirer pour les faire punir: ou bien ils ſe retirent à la Campagne dans quelque lieu fort, ou ſur les terres de quelqu'autre Prince ou ils ſont dans une entiere ſeureté, ils y demeurent juſqu'à la fin de la Legation du Cardinal, & puis ils s'accommodent avec le Succeſſeur, qui pour une piece d'argent leur fait grace; comme il en a le pouvoir de tous les crimes & aſſaſſinats qu'ils ont commis. D'ailleurs tout le peuple de l'Eſtat de Boulogne eſt fort heureux & vit dans une grande abondance, parce que le terroir en eſt extremement fertile & qu'il ne paye rien au Prince.

Remarques ſur l'Eſtat de la Grand' Duc de TOSCANE.

Il y a dans ce grand Duché trois Villes conſiderables, Florence, Piſe & Sienne. Tous ceux qui ont lû l'Hiſtoire d'Italie ſavent, que Piſe eſtoit autrefois une Republique tres puiſſante, que le Commerce y eſtoit tres-floriſſant, & qu'il y avoit un tres-grand nombre de Citoyens tres-

richesse. Il n'en faut point d'autre preuve que ce qu'on lit, que dans une certaine occasion cent Citoyens armérent chacun une Galere à leurs dépens qu'ils entretinrent durant toute la guerre. On sçait des grands Exploits qu'ils ont fait dans le Levant par leurs flotes & qu'ils ont resisté long-temps au Duc de Florence qui enfin les subjugua avec le secours des armes d'Espagne. La Ville de Pise est une des grandes & belles Villes d'Italie. Les bastimens en sont beaux & superbes, aussi-bien qu'une de ses Eglises avec toutes ses dépendances, qui est une des plus belles de toute l'Italie. Elle est bastie sur la riviere d'Arne qui la separe par le milieu, qui porte des grands bateaux & qui va de là se decharger à Lagorne dans la mer qui n'en est eloignée que de douze mille. C'est assurement une des Villes de toute l'Italie la mieux située pour la Commerce. Aussi il y fleurissoit extrémement lors qu'elle estoit en République. A present non-seulement la Ville mais tout le Terroir est entierement depeuplé. Il y avoit dans la Ville, à ce que disent ceux qui en ont escrit plus de cent cinquante mille habitans, il n'y en a pas à present douze mille. L'herbe croit dans la plus part des ruës & des places. La plus grande partie des maisons sont vuides & desertes. J'ay esté dans un beau & grand Palais qui ne coustoit que six Pistoles d'année de Louage. La plus grande partie des terres sont en friche, & l'air presque par tout y est fort mal sain à cause du petit nombre d'habitans. Le Duc de Florence a crû qu'il ne pouvoit s'assurer la domination de cette grande Ville qu'en la

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dépeuplant & en ruïnant entierement le Commerce qui l'avoit rendu si puissante, au lieu qu'à present il n'y en a absolument point du tout. La ville de Sienne estoit aussi autrefois une belle Republique, remplie d'un grand nombre de maisons nobles, riches & puissantes, depuis que le Duc de Florence l'a reduit sous sa domination il la ruïné la plus grande partie des maisons des Gentilshommes dont plusieurs se sont retirez en France, ou dans les Estats de quelques Princes d'Italie. Quant à la ville de Florence elle est aussi extrémement déchevie depuis qu'elle est sous la domination de la maison de Medecis. On voit par l'Histoire de Machiavel & d'autres Autheurs Italiens qu'il y avoit, lors qu'elle estoit en Republique, trois fois plus d'habitans qu'il n'y en a à present. Quoy que le sejour du grand Duc & de sa Cour devroit la faire fleurir, il s'en faut beaucoup qu'elle n'ait le lustre & la splendeur qu'elle avoit du temps qu'elle estoit Republique.

Remarque touchant le Gouvernement temporel du PAPE.

IL n'y a assurement guere de Peuples qui soyent plus miserables que ceux qui vivent sous la domination du Pape. La pluspart des Estats de ceux-là mesme où il y a le plus de subsides & d'impositions n'en ont point mis sur le bled & sur les grains dont on fait le pain, parce que personne ne s'en peut passer, non pas mesme les plus miserables. On a cette humanité pour le bien de

tous

tous leurs peuples de ne mettre aucune subside sur le pain parce que c'est une nourriture commune & absolument necessaire, mesme aux plus miserables; au lieu qu'on ne fait point de scrupule de mettre des impositions sur le Vin & sur les autres denrées, parce qu'elles ne sont pas si necessaires que le pain. Le Pape ne fait point de scrupule de mettre une imposition fort grande sur le Bled & sur le pain dans tous les Estats, à la reserve de ceux qui ont conservé leurs Privileges. Ce fut Donna Olympia qui durant le Pontificat d'Innocent X. commença à mettre une imposition sur le Bled, & à faire une Ordonnance qui a ruiné la plus grande partie des Grands Seigneurs & des Gentilshommes de l'Estat Ecclesiastique dont les revenus sont en Bled. Tous les Papes qui ont regné depuis le Pape Innocent ont trouvé un si grand avantage de cette ordonnance de Donna Olimpia qu'ils l'ont tousjours continuée depuis, & qu'encore à present elle fait une grande partie des revenus de la Chambre Ecclesiastique. Voicy en quoy consiste cette Ordonnance. Il n'est permis à qui que ce soit de vendre du Bled aux Estrangers; Il faut que tous ceux qui en ont le vendent à un certain prix à la Chambre Ecclesiastique; C'est à dire tout-au-plus à la moitié du juste prix, & la Chambre Ecclesiastique le revend au double. Comme en Italie il n'y a personne ni dans les Villes ni mesme à la Campagne qui faſſe cuire du pain pour son propre usage, chacun est obligé de l'achepter des Boulengers establis par la Chambre. Dans les villages ou dans les bourgs il n'y a qu'un seul Boulanger esta-

bli

bli par la Chambre pour faire & vendre le pain. Ce Boulanger eſt obligé de prendre le bled de la Chambre à un certain prix & de faire le pain d'une certaine qualité & poids & de le donner pour un certain prix. Dans les grandes villes comme à Rome il y a un grand nombre de Boulangers qui ſont tous obligez d'acheter de la Chambre Eccleſiaſtique une certaine quantité de bled pendant une année qu'ils payent, par exemple à dix eſcus la ſalme, lors que la Chambre l'a acheté à cinq des particuliers. Au commencement de l'année on oblige tous les Boulangers, de prendre la meſme quantité de bled pour l'année courante, quoy qu'ils en ayent encore de reſte beaucoup de celuy de l'année paſſée. Ils le rendent à la Chambre qui ne leur en donne que cinq eſcus & on leur revend encore le meſme Bled à dix Eſcus la Salme. Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait aucun Eſtat au Monde qui tire un ſi grand profit du bled ſur les ſujets que le Pape en tire de tous ſes Eſtats. C'eſt ce qui a cauſé en partie la ruine de l'Eſtat Eccleſiaſtique depuis environ trente années que cette ordonnance eſt eſtablie. L'Eſtat s'eſt dépeuplé, on laiſſe la plus part des terres en friche parce qu'il ne vaut pas la peine de cultiver les terres dont la plus grande partie du profit revient au Pape. En voyageant ſur les terres de l'Eſtat Eccleſiaſtique dans la Romagne & entre Rome & Naples on void des grandes Campagnes toutes incultes. Un voyageur paſſant par les terres d'un Prince Romain luy dit au retour de Naples que s'il vouloit il luy feroit venir des paiſans pour cultiver ſes terres, s'imaginant que

c'eſtoit

c'estoit faute de laboureurs qu'on les laissoit en friche? Ce Prince répondit qu'il ne manqueroit pas de gens pour cultiver ses terres ; Mais que comme l'on estoit obligé de vendre tous les grains à la Chambre pour un prix fort bas on n'en tiroit pas la dépense qu'il falloit faire pour la culture.

Touchant la Reduction des Interests deuë par les

MONTS de ROME

de 4. à 3. pour cent.

CHacun sait assez ce qu'on appelle en Italie & sur tout à Rome les Monts, c'est à peu près comme les rentes de la Maison de Ville de Paris. Des Papes aiant besoin d'argent ont pris des grandes sommes des particuliers par emprunt avec promesse de leur donner quatre pour cent d'Interest. C'est ce qu'on appelle à Rome l'etablissement du Mont, c'est à dire la creation de certains Officiers & l'assignation de certaines rentes pour le payement de ceux qui avoient presté de l'argent au Pape. Le Pape à present regnant voiant la Chambre engagée a payer toutes les années je ne say combien de millions d'Escus Romains d'interests à ceux qui avoient presté de l'argent sur ces Monts, resolut de tacher de la degager en partie d'un si gros Interest, & ayant pour cet effet amassé quelques millions d'ecus Romains il fit dire à ceux qui avoient de l'argent sur ces Monts qu'ils devoient venir prendre leur capital à moins qu'ils ne vouluſſent se contenter du trois pour cent pour l'Interest au lieu de quatre qu'ils

en

en avoient auparavant. Comme il n'y a absolument point de Commerce dans tout l'Etat Ecclesiastique & que les terres n'y rendent presque rien, & que les terres Nobles se vendent jusqu'au denier 50. ou 60. tous ceux qui avoient de l'argent sur ces Monts ne sachant ou l'employer ni comment le faire valoir l'ont laissé sur ces mesmes Monts & se sont contentez de trois au lieu du quatre pour cent qu'ils avoient auparavant. Ainsi tout le monde a perdu le quart de son revenu & la Chambre a gagné tout d'un coup je ne say combien de millions d'escus tous les ans par le retranchement d'un pour cent.

Il n'est pas croyable les sommes immenses que le Pape a recueilli par le retranchement de je ne say combien de depense superfluë & par l'extinction de plusieurs charges qui avoient de gros apointemens de la Chambre Ecclesiastique & par d'autres moiens. Ceux qui en sont informez assurent que tous les subsides que le Pape a donné à l'Empereur & au Roy de Pologne pour la guerre contre le Turc ne sont pas la trentiéme partie de l'argent qu'il a amassé. Outre qu'il a payé beaucoup de dettes de la Chambre qui n'estoient point assignées sur des Monts. Il ne faut pas oublier de parler de la vilanie & de l'incommodité des hostelleries, sur tout dans la Toscane, dans la Romagne & entre Rome & Naples.

On peut faire un bon article de la prodigieuse quantité des biens des Ecclesiastiques dans le Roiaume de Naples, de la grande quantité de Vases, de Vaisseaux, de Statuës d'argent qu'il y a dans les Eglises, de la somptuosité des richesses,

des paremens d'hoſtels & de tous les habits des Preſtres. On peut faire là-deſſus une remarque fort importante, que ſi le Roy d'Eſpagne ne trouve moyen d'empeſcher que les Eccleſiaſtiques ne continuent a faire des grandes acquiſitions de terres, ils ſeront bien tôt Maiſtre de la plus grande partie du Roiaume de Naples, comme dés à preſent ils ont plus de la moitié des fonds de terres ſans conter ce qu'ils tirent d'ailleurs pour le ſervice des Egliſes, pour les Meſſes, pour les Bâtêmes, pour les Enterremens, pour les Mariages, pour les Confeſſions, pour les Indulgences & pour les Legs qu'on leur fait par Teſtament.

On a fait des Remarques fort à la haſte dont l'Autheur pourra peut-eſtre faire quelque uſage. Je ſay des contes fort plaiſans des Jeſuites de Naples à qui un Prince de Salerm ayant donné la moitié d'une grande Maiſon qu'il avoit à Naples, on avoit gravé en groſſes Lettres ſur le frontiſpice de cette Maiſon qu'elle avoit eſté donnée à ces Jeſuites par ce Prince. Depuis peu d'années les Jeſuites ont depoſſedé les heritiers du Prince de Salerme, qui leur avoit donné la moitié de cette maiſon, de l'autre moitié dont ils jouiſſoyent & ont effacé l'inſcription qui eſtoit au deſſus de ladite maiſon. Le tout par bon arreſt de Juſtice. Dans le commencement de l'établiſſement de la Compagnie des Jeſuites les Chartreux de Naples, qui ſont fort riches leur aſſignerent une annuelle penſion de pleuſieurs milliers de Ducats. Depuis quelques années les Chartreux ayant vû que les Jeſuites s'étoient fort enrichis

ont

ont voulu retirer leur pension. Les Jesuites les ont plaidé, et ils ont obtenu par arrest de Justice qu'elle leur seroit continuée. Les Jesuites ont une tres grande quantité de terres Nobles dans le Royaume de Naples. Tout les Religieux de quelque ordre qu'ils soient qui ont des maisons à Naples ont le droit d'acheter à droit & à gauche toutes les maisons qui touchent les leurs jusques au bout de la rue a fin de faire de leur maison une Isle. Ils n'ont pour cet effet qu'à payer le prix de la maison au proprietaires, non pas selon sa valeur, mais suivant le prix du dernier Contract de vente qui aura esté fait de quelques maisons il y a 50. 60. jusqu'à cent ans, qui est venue de Pere en Fils par succession jusqu'au dernier possesseur.

On pourroit faire plusieurs remarques fort considerables sur les diverses manieres dont les Ecclesiastiques de ce Royaume se servent pour attraper le bien des Seculiers.

The Printer to the Reader.

The Author of the Letters *having communicated these* Remarks *to me in order to a more Correct Edition, which was to be enlarged by so Considerable an Addition, and he sending them only in* French, *being not at leasure to translate them, I have prevailed with another to do it, for the benefit of the English Reader.*

REMARKS,
Upon SWITZERLAND.

IT is very surprising when one comes out of *France*, (which is an Extraordinary good Country) into *Switzerland*, which is not near so fertil, and yet to see so great a difference between the *People* of those two Countries. The *People* in *France*, and especially the *Peasants*, are very poor; and most of them reduced to great Misery and Want. The *People* in *Switzerland* cannot be said to be very Rich; but yet there are very few, even amongst the *Peasants* themselves that are miserably poor; the most part of them have enough to live upon, from their Labour, and the Fruits of the Earth. Every where in *France*, even in the best *Citys*, there are Swarms of *Beggars*; and yet scarce any to be seen throughout all *Switzerland*. The Houses of the *Peasants*, or Country-people in *France* are extreamly mean, and in them no other Furniture to be found besides poor nasty Beds, straw Chairs, and Plates and dishes of Wood and Earth: In *Switzerland* the *Peasants* have their Houses furnished with good Feather-Beds, good Chairs, and other Housholdstuff for their Convenience, as well as their Necessity; their Windows are all of glass, always kept mended and whole, and their Linnen very neat and white, and as well for their Bedding as their Tables.

Of

Of the GRISONS Countrey.

THe *Grisons* Country is much more Barren than *Switzerland*, becauſe 'tis wholy upon the *Mountains*, which produce nothing at all; yet notwithſtanding (all Exceſs and Luxury being baniſhed from amongſt them, and the Inhabitants being extreamly Laborious) there are none to be ſeen there that are very poor and needy; but they live at Eaſe, and there are a great many Gentry of good Eſtates. Their *Government* is altogether *Popular*; there are but three or four Royalties belonging to Nobility in all the Country. All the reſt of their Lands are in Demeane, which may yet well be called Royalties too, becauſe exempt from all dues and payments whatſoever. There is nothing at all to be pay'd for bringing into the Country any ſort of Goods or Merchandiſes, or for exporting of them thence; every one there fully enjoys the Fruit of his own Labours, and the Revenues of his Land; although the Wine they drink is brought upon Horſes four or five days Journey, yet they have it cheaper there than in moſt parts of *Italy* or *France*, where it ſo plentifully grows. There are *Villages* upon the very tops of the *Mountains*, conſiſting of 150. and 200. Houſes apiece; and altho' they have no Corn or Grain that grows there, and but very little Graſs, yet the *Peaſants* keep three or four hundred Horſes which they imploy to carry Goods and Merchandiſes,

which turns to ſo good account that they live very well, and want nothing either for the Neceſſity or Convenience of life. The *Inns* upon the Mountains are very good; and there is always to be had, beſides good Bread and Wine, great quantity of Game and Veniſon, according to the Seaſon of the Year, good Trouts, very good Chambers, and Beds after the manner of the Country. When you leave the *Griſons* Country, and are come into the Country of *Chavenne*, the People begin to ſpeak broken *Italian*: altho' this latter is a more fertil Country, yet the Inhabitants and *Peaſants* do not live ſo well as in the *Griſons* Country, for that the Natives are more ſlothful and lazy: and here again there are abundance of poor People, as you will find in all parts of *Italy*.

Of the Bailiage *of* LUGANE.

THere are on the other ſide of the Mountains four *Bailiages*, which were formerly part of the *Dutchy of Milan*; *Lewis* XII. when he loſt that *Dutchy*, gave theſe *Bailiages* to ſome of the *Switz Cantons*. Theſe *Bailiages* are called, *Lugane*, *Lucarno*, *Mendris*, and *Belinſton*: I ſhall only take notice of the *Bailiage* of *Lugane*, which contains ninety nine *Villages*: The Territories of this *Bailiage* and of the others, are not near ſo good as that of *Milan*, to which it joyns; yet the *Villages* of this *Bailiage* are very populous; the Land is very fruitful, becauſe it is well cultivated, and all the Inhabitants live contented

tented and well; There are no *Beggars* amongst them, nor hardly any Object of Misery and Want: Their Houses are all good, well built, and kept in good repair. The Territory of *Milan* is certainly one of the best in all *Italy*; it produceth Wine, Corn and Oyl in abundance, very great quantity of Silk, and (generally speaking) all sorts of Fruits; there is also excellent Pasture for Cattle, and yet the *Peasants* there do not live so well by much as in the *Bailiage* of *Lugane*; for there is a great deal of Land that lyes unmanur'd, and the Country is not near so populous as in *Lugane*. There can be no other Reason given for this Difference but that *Milan* is under the Dominion of *Spain*: That the *People* are loaden with Imposts, Subsidies and Taxes, which makes them very poor; whereas the *People* of *Lugane* are under the *Government* of *Switzerland*, who put no Taxes or Subsidies upon them.

Remarkes upon the LAKES.

I Do not know that in the Kingdom of *France*, as it was thirty years since, there were any *Lakes*, except perhaps in the Mountains of *Dauphiné*. From the *Lake* of *Jour* to the *Lake* of *Garde*, which is at *Desenesan*, between *Bresse* and *Veronne*, in the Territories of *Venice*, there are a great number of *Lakes*; one of the most considerable is that of *Geneva*; then there is the Lake of *Newchattel*, the Lake *d'Yverdun*, the Lake of *Morat*, the Lake of *Bienne*, the

Lake of *Quinti*, the Lake of *Lucerne*, the Lake of *Conſtance*, the Lake of *Valeſtat*, and many others in the Mountains of *Switzerland*. There is on the other ſide the Mountains a great and conſiderable Lake, called *Come*, alſo the Lake of *Lugane*, the Lake *Major*, which is above 60 miles long, and likewiſe the Lake *de Garde*. All theſe *Lakes* are repleniſh'd with moſt excellent Fiſh, and particularly *Trouts*; but in the Lake *de Garde* there is found an admirable Fiſh, called *Carpion*, which is far more delicate than either *Trout* or *Salmon*, but they are not ſo great; for thoſe of the largeſt ſize do not weigh above fifteen pounds. I do not think that in any part of *Europe* there are ſo many fine *Lakes* to be found in ſo narrow a Compaſs, as thoſe which I have here mentioned.

Concerning the Dutchy of FERRARA.

THe *Duke of Ferrara* hath always been but a little *Prince*, becauſe his *Dominions* are not very great; yet there have been ſeveral of the ſaid *Dukes* for above 150. years ago, and ſince, that have made a handſome Figure, and held a conſiderable Rank amongſt the *Princes of Italy*. The Country was formerly very populous, and the Lands being fertil, and well cultivated: The Revenue of the *Prince* were conſiderable, and he kept a good Court. But ſince that *Dutchy* is devolved upon the *See* of *Rome*, by the Death of the laſt *Duke*, who dyed without Iſſue Male, the Country is almoſt depopulated:

pulated: the moſt part of the Lands are deſolate; and for ſeveral Years laſt paſt the *Duchy* is infected with Diſeaſes, purely for want of Inhabitants. There were formerly in the Time of the *Dukes* of *Ferrara*, more than one hundred thouſand *People*, and at preſent there are not 15000. The Graſs grows in the Streets, and moſt of the Houſes are void.

Poleſino is one of the beſt parts of *Italy*; and that part of it which is poſſeſſed by the *Venetians*, is very well cultivated and populous; and 'tis one of the beſt of their ſmall Provinces. As ſoon as you paſs the great Arm of the River *Po*, which is called the *Lagoſcuro*, which ſeparates that part of the *Poliſino* which belongs to the *Venetians*, from that which belongs to the *Pope*, although the Land and Country is the very ſame, yet the moſt part of thoſe Lands of the *Poleſino*, which belongs to the *Eccleſiaſtical State*, are deſolate and waſt: The Graſs lyes withered and rotten upon the ground, becauſe there is no body takes care to mow it; and in paſſing through great Villages, you'l find all the Houſes abandon'd, and not one Inhabitant to be found. It is not eaſily to be imagined how it is poſſible, that a Countrey ſo populous and flouriſhing, ſhould in leſs than 80. *years* be ſo entirely ruined and diſpeopled: by this it is very apparent, *that no Subiects are ſo unhappy, as thoſe that live under the Domination of the* Clergy.

Concerning the Estates of BOLOGNIA.

IF the *Popes* had been able to have made themselves masters of *Bologna*, as they have done of *Ferrara*, they would thereby have reduced it to the same miserable condition; but *Bologna* hath always preserved their Priviledges and the Civil Government, by means of the *Gonfalonniers*, under whom they are governed; they have the right of sending *Embassadors* to to the *Pope*, who injoy the same Prerogatives as do the Embassadors of the other free *Princes* and *States*: The *Pope* cannot confiscate the Goods of any Subject of *Bologna* for any Crime whatsoever. The great Mischiefs which too frequently happen here, more than in other parts, are *Assassinations* and *Murthers*; those that commit them fly for shelter to some of the Churches, as to an inviolable *Asylum*, from whence the *Legats* themselves cannot bring them to be punished, or perhaps they retire into the Country, into some Strong hold, or into the Territories of a Neighbouring *Prince*, where they are certainly secure, and there remain until the *Legation* of the then *Cardinal* be finished, and afterwards make an agreement with the Successor, who for Money pardons them (having Power so to do) all the Crimes and Murthers they have committed: In other respects the People of *Bologna* are very happy, and live in great plenty, for that the Country is mighty fruitful; and they pay no Taxes to the *Prince*.

Remarks

Remarks upon the Country of the Great Duke of TUSCANY.

THere are in this Great *Dukedom* three conſiderable Cities, *Florence*, *Piſa*, and *Sienna*. All thoſe who have read the *Hiſtory* of *Italy*, do know, that *Piſa* was formerly a very powerful *Commonwealth*, that it flouriſhed in Trade and Commerce, and that there were a great many wealthy Citizens belonging to it; there needs no other proof of this, than what we read, that upon a certain occaſion a hundred of the Citizens equip'd each of them a *Gally* at their own Charges, which they maintained during all the War. The great Actions are well known which they have done in the *Levant* by their Fleets, and how they along time oppoſed the *Duke* of *Florence*, who at length ſubdued them by the Aſſiſtance of the *Spaniſh* Arms.

Piſa is one of the largeſt and moſt beautiful *Cities* of *Italy*, the Buildings are ſtately and fine; & ſo is one of their Churches, which with its Dependencies is one of the fineſt in all *Italy*. The *City* is built upon the River of *Arne*, which divides it in the midſt; it is navigable for Veſſels of a great burthen; and at *Legorne*, which is twelve Miles diſtance, it falls into the Sea. It is one of the beſt ſcituated Towns in all *Italy* for Trade, with which it flouriſhed extreamly whilſt it was a *Republick*: at preſent not only the City, but the Country belonging to it, is wholly depopulated. Writers ſay, that there

were formerly above one hundred and fifty Thousand Inhabitants, whereas now there are not twelve thousand. The Grass grows in most of the *Places* & *Streets* of the *City*, and most of the Houses are deserted, and lye void. I was my self in a fair large Pallace, which was let for six Pistoles *per annum*; the greatest part of their Lands lye waste, and the Air is very unhealthy in most parts, because of the small number of Inhabitants. The *Duke of Florence* thought there was no way to secure himself of this great *City*, but by depopulating of it, and ruining the Trade, which rendred it so potent, so that at present there is not any Trade there at all.

The City of *Sienna* was also formerly a very fine *Common Wealth*, and had in it many noble, rich, and powerful Families; but since that the *Duke of Florence* hath reduced it to his Obedience, he hath ruined most of the Nobility and Gentry, many of them retiring into *France*, and into the territories of some of the *Princes* of *Italy*.

As to the City of *Florence* it self, it is extreamly decayed to what it was since it came under the Government of the House of *Medicis*. It is plain from the History of *Machiavil*, and other *Italian* Authors that lived in those times, that it was three tires more populous when it was a *Republick*, than it is now. The *Great Duke* keeping his Court and residence there, one would think should make the *City* flourish the more; yet it wants a great deal of that Luster and Splendor it had when it was a *Commonwealth*.

Remarks

Remarks upon the Temporal Government *of the* POPE.

THere are certainly very few *People* ſo miſerable, as thoſe who live under the Dominion of the *Pope*: moſt of the *States of Italy*, and where there are the moſt Subſidies and Impoſitions, have not put any tax upon *Corn* and *Grain* which make *Bread*, becauſe there is no perſon, tho never ſo miſerable, that can ſubſiſt without it; there is that humanity and regard had to the *People*, in not laying *Taxes* upon *Bread*, becauſe 'tis the common Nouriſhment and abſolutely neceſſary even for the moſt Indigent and Poor, tho Impoſitions are laid without ſcruple upon *Wine* and other Merchandiſes, becauſe they are not ſo neceſſary as *Bread*: yet the *Pope* makes no ſcruple to lay very great Impoſitions upon *Corn* and *Bread* throughout all his *Dominions*, except in thoſe places that have yet preſerved their Liberties. It was *Donna Olimpia*, that during the Pontificat of *Innocent* the X. began to put Taxes and Impoſts upon *Corn*, and made ſuch *Laws* which have ruined the moſt part of the great Nobility and Gentry, that live under the *Eccleſiaſtical Government*, who had their revenues conſiſting in *Corn*. All the *Popes* who have reigned ſince *Innocents* time, have found ſuch a great Advantage to themſelves by theſe Laws of *Donna Olympia*, that they have continued them ever ſince; and it is at preſent a very Conſiderable part of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenue. The ſubſtance of which ſaid *Law* or Ordinance is this, *That no perſon whatſoever*

whatsoever is suffered to sell Corn *to any Strangers; but all those that have any, are obliged to sell it at a price certain to the* Ecclesiastical Chamber; which is not at the most above one moiety of the real Value; and then the *Ecclesiastical Chamber* sells it again at double the price. In *Italy* there is no person, either in City or Country, in the *Popes Dominions*, who is permitted to make their own *Bread*, but every one is obliged to buy it of the *Bakers*, who are appointed by the *Chamber*; in each *Village* and *Burrough* there is but one *Baker* Established by the *Chamber* to make and sell *Bread*; the Baker is obliged to take the *Corn* of the Chamber at a certain price, and to make the *Bread* of such a quality and weight, and to sell it at a price Certain. In the great Cities, as at *Rome*, there are Very many *Bakers*, who are all obliged to buy a certain quantity of *Corn* of the *Ecclesiastical Chamber* for a whole *Year* to come, which they pay for before-hand, and give ten Crowns the *Salme* or measure, when at the same time the *Chamber* bought it of the particular persons for five Crowns; at the beginning of the year, all the *Bakers* are obliged to take the same Quantity of *Corn* for the *Year* ensuing, altho sometimes they have a great deal of the last years *Corn* upon their hands, which they must deliver to the *Chamber* for five Crowns the *Salme* or measure, and then the very same *Corn* is sold them again for ten *Crowns*. I do not believe that there is any Country in the World, that draws more profit from their Subjects for *Corn*, than the *Pope* doth in his *Dominions*, which hath been partly

ly the Cauſe of the ruin of the *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate*, ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the ſaid *Law*, which was about thirty years ſince: the Country is unpeopled, and great part of the Lands lie void and uncultivated, becauſe it is not worth while to manure them when the greateſt advantage and profit, ariſing thereby, goes to the *Pope*. In travelling through the Eccleſiaſtical Territories in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, there are vaſt quantites of Land unmanured. A Traveller paſſing through the Eſtate of a *Roman Prince*, told the Prince upon his return to *Naples*, *he would if he pleaſed ſend him Husbandmen that ſhould manure his Lands*; thinking that it had been for want of Labourers that the Lands lay void and waſt. The *Prince* told him; *that he did not want people to Cultivate his Lands; but becauſe they were obliged to ſell all their Corn and Grain to the Chamber at a Very Low Price, it would not quit Coſt to Manure and Cultivate it.*

Touching the Reduction of the Intereſt of mony Due by the MONTES *at Rome from* 4. to 3. *per Cent.*

EVery body almoſt knows what 'tis which in *Italy*, & eſpecially at *Rome*, they call the *Montes*; it is much like the Rents upon the Town-houſe at *Paris*. The *Popes* having occaſion of *money*, borrow great ſums of particular Perſons at 4. *per Cent* Intereſt; This they call at *Rome* the Eſtabliſhment of the *Monte*, that is, the Creation of certain Officers, and the aſſignment of ſeveral Rents for the payment of thoſe who have

have lent Money to the *Pope*. The present *Pope*, finding the *Chamber* engaged to the annual payments of I know not how many Millions of *Roman Crowns* Intereſt, to thoſe that had lent Money upon the *Monte*, reſolved in part to reduce and leſſen the great Sum of Money which the *Intereſt* amounted to, and having for this purpoſe raiſed ſeveral Millions of *Roman Crowns*, he acquainted thoſe that had money upon the *Monte*, that they ſhould come and receive their principal money, unleſs they would take 3. per Cent Intereſt for the 4. per Cent which they formerly received; whereupon there being really no Trade in all the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, and the Lands worth nothing, and that the Eſtates of the Nobility were all ſold to a penny, all Perſons who had Money upon the *Monte*, not knowing how to Imploy it to advantage elſewhere, let it there remain, contenting themſelves with *three per cent.* inſtead of *four per cent*, which they had before. So that by this means every one concerned loſt a fourth part of their yearly Income, and the *Chamber* got I know not how many Millions of *Crowns* yearly by this Retrenchment of one per cent.

It is almoſt incredible the Immence Sums the *Pope* hath raiſed by retrenching of many ſuperfluous Expences, and extinguiſhing ſeveral Offices to which great Salleries were payd by the *Eccleſiaſtical Chamber*, and by divers other means. Thoſe who are well informed in theſe matters, do for certain affirm, that all the Subſidies which

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the *Pope* hath remitted to the *Emperor* and *King* of *Poland*, to carry on the *War* against the *Turks*, are not the thirtieth part of the Money which he hath treasured up; altho' likewise he hath pay'd many Debts of the *Chamber*, which were not chargeable upon the *Montes*.

I ought not here to omit relating, that the *Inns*, especially in *Tuscany*, in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, are very sordid and incommodious; one may give a pretty good guess at the prodigious Wealth belonging to the *Clergy* in the *Kingdom* of *Naples* by the great quantity of Plate, Vessels and Statues of Silver in the *Churches*, and by the riches and magnificent Furniture of their Habitations, and Vestments of the *Priests*. One may upon the whole matter make this Important Reflection, That if the *King* of *Spain* doth not think of some expedient, to hinder the *Clergy* from Increasing their *Estates* in *Lands*, which they do daily, they will in a very little time become Masters of the greatest part of the *Kingdom* of *Naples*; for they are already possessed of more than the half of the *Lands* of that *Kingdom*, besides the other vast profits they make continually under pretence of *Service to the Church*, for their *Masses*, *Buildings*, *Burials*, *Marriages*, *Confessions*, and by their *Indulgences*, and the *Legacies* left them by Will.

Tho these are remarks made in hast, yet they may be of use to the Author.

I know several very pleasant Stories of the *Jesuits* at *Naples*. The *Prince of Salerme* gave them

them the moyety of a great House which he had at *Naples*, and thereupon an Inscription was engraven in Capital Letters upon the Frontespiece of the House, of the Donation thereof given to the *Jesuits* by the said *Prince*; within these few years the *Jesuites* have turn'd the *Heirs* of the *Prince of Salerne* out of possession of the other Moiety of the said House, and have defaced the Inscription upon the House; and all this they have done by Colour of Law and Justice. Upon the first Establishment of the Society of *Jesuits*, the *Carthusians* of *Naples*, who are very rich, voluntarily assigned them a yearly *Pension* of several thousand Ducats; but the *Carthusians* perceiving that of late years several of the *Jesuits* were grown mighty rich, resolved to withdraw the said *Pension*; the *Jesuites* hereupon went to Law with them, and obtained Sentence, that the said *Pension* should be continued. The *Jesuits* have got a very considerable part of the Lands of the Nobility in the *Kingdom of Naples*. All the *Religious*, of what Order soever they be, who have Houses at *Naples*, have the Priviledge of purchasing all Houses that are contiguous to them on the one side or the other to the very end of the Street, in order to make their Houses entire, and to stand alone like an *Island*; and for this purpose they have no more to do, than only pay the Proprietor for his House, not according to the present Value, but as it was last sold, perhaps 50, 60, or 100 years ago, and so hath descended from Father to Son successively to the person then in possession.

Many other very considerable Remarks might be made of the divers Tricks and Methods the *Clergy* of this *Kingdom* make use of to wheedle and trapan the *Laity* out of their *Estates*.

FINIS.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM